systematic excavation of the great series of royal tombs a vast store of 000
archaeological data will be forthcoming. This splendid series, the sequence [172]
of which is known in part, constitutes no doubt the most important
archaeological field in Polynesia.

For the location of places mentioned in this paper refer to Tongan 113
Place Names (25).[A]

POPULATION

CENSUS DATA

The census for the year 1921 taken by the Tongan police in the month 161
of April, lists 23,759 Tongans, 571 Caucasians, 235 half-castes, 235 individuals 162
from other Pacific islands, and 135 miscellaneous non-Caucasian foreigners.

Intermarriage of Caucasians and full-blooded Tongans is less frequent 563
to-day than formerly, although at no time was such intermarriage common.
To all appearances the Tongan population bids fair to maintain itself in [144]
strength of numbers and purity of blood indefinitely. This situation seems [671]
insured by the fact that ownership of land by foreigners is effectually pro- [423]
hibited by law.

It is the opinion of the late Reverend J. B. Watkin, formerly President 161
of the Free Church of Tonga, and a man who could speak with authority because of his long residence in Tonga, that the population of the three main island groups of Tonga—Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau—has never exceeded 25,000; an opinion with which I have reason to concur.

The estimate of the Wesleyan missionaries in 1840, cited by Commodore Wilkes (63, vol. 3, p. 29) allows only 18,500 for the population of the whole archipelago, including the outlying Niuatoputapu and Niuafoou islands. It is possible that this is an underestimate, though it must be remembered that the country was still suffering from the internecine wars which began about the end of the eighteenth century. In Table 1, Wilkes' figures for 1840 are given with those for other years up to 1921. For 1922 no detailed figures have been obtained, but according to Stronge (52, pp. 6-7) the excess of births over deaths for that year was 359, which would make the total Tongan population more than 24,000.

ANCIENT DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Tradition speaks of a time when it was possible to communicate from 161
one end of Tongatabu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a 162
state of affairs described as *fanongonongo tokoto* (making proclamation 203
when reclining). Some writers have inferred from this tradition that the 173
population must have been much denser than that of to-day. The area of 000

[A] /See 4: Gifford for this source -- Analyst/

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

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[p.354 is blank]

127 by the Catholic Missionaries of the Marist Brotherhood[1] and the other by the Rev. Shirley W. Baker.[2]

104 With one exception the Tongan orthography followed in this paper is that set forth on pages 1 and 2 of the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais. Sixteen symbols in all are used, of which five represent vowels and eleven consonants. The vowels are *a, e, i, o,* and *u* and the consonants are *f, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t,* and *v*. *Ng* [2a] is used in this paper in place of the *g* employed in both the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais and in Baker's Dictionary.

114 Baker's Dictionary differs from the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais in using both *b* and *p* instead of *p* alone; and *s* and *j* instead of *s* alone.

127 128 Owing to the fact that practically all of the place names presented in this paper are drawn from government records, charts, and various Tongan manuscripts and are recorded in varying orthographies and largely without diacritical marks, it is impossible to consistently indicate by diacritical marks the exact pronunciation of each word. For particulars concerning Tongan phonetics the reader should consult the dictionaries.

THE TONGA OR FRIENDLY ISLANDS

131 The group named the Friendly Islands by the famous navigator Cook lies between the parallels of 15° and 23° south latitude and between the 173rd and 176th meridians west of Greenwich.

103 The name Tonga as applied to the whole group is derived from the name of the largest island of the group, generally known as Tongatabu.[3]

133 [131] With the exception of the outlying volcanic island of Niuafoou approximately in latitude 16° S and longitude 176° W, the islands of the Tongan archipelago lie in two parallel chains stretching from north to south. The eastern chain is of coral formation. The western chain is volcanic.

The eastern chain includes more than one hundred islands, most of them low-lying—in fact, little more than uplifted coral reefs. They are exceedingly fertile and bear the great bulk of the Tongan population.

The western volcanic islands are not numerous. They are from south to north: Ata (1165 feet elevation), the twin islands of Hunga Tonga and Hunga Haapai (respectively 490 and 400 feet elevation), Tofua (1670

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[113] [1] Missionnaires Maristes, Dictionnaire Toga-Francais et Francais-Toga-Anglais. Precedé d'une Grammaire et de Quelques Notes sur L'Archipel par les Missionnaires Maristes, revu et mis en ordre par le P. A. C. s.m. Publication de l'oeuvre de Saint-Jerome, Librairie-Editeur, Paris. Chadenat, 1890.

[113] [2] An English and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary, with a list of Idiomatic Phrases; and Tongan Grammar, Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

[3] The spelling Tongatabu has been unfortunately adopted by official geographic boards and gazetteers. The correct orthography is Tongatapu.

[2a] In the arrangement of the gazetteer, *ng* follows *n*.

feet elevation), Kao (3380 feet elevation), Late (1700 feet elevation), 133
Fonualei (600 feet elevation), Niuatoputapu (350 feet elevation), and
Tafahi (2000 feet elevation).

Two of the coralline islands are quite elevated; Eua attains the height of 1070 feet and Vavau the height of 670 feet.

Most of the Tonga islands fall both politically and geographically into 133
three divisions. From south to north they are the Tongatabu group, the 101
Haapai group, and the Vavau group. Geographically these groups embrace only the coral islands, but politically Kao and Tofua are parts of Haapai, and Late is a part of Vavau, though all three are volcanic and lie thirty or forty miles west of Haapai and Vavau proper.

The southernmost portion of the Haapai group is cut off from the main 133
portion by about ten miles of deep water. It is often dignified geographically with the term Nomuka group. It is here treated, however, as a por- [128]
tion of Haapai.

TONGAN GEOGRAPHIC POEMS

Tongan poets are much given to the composition of verses dealing en- 538
tirely with Tongan geography; in fact, the feeling for the beauties of 181
nature is one of the marked cultural characteristics of the Tongan people.
Martin[4] has published two such compositions, and a number of poems 128
dealing with the islands of the Tongatabu, Haapai, and Vavau groups are presented in the following pages of this paper.

"Koe Otu Motu o Haapai" is a fragment of ancient verse evidently ex- 539
pressing the feeling of monotony which had overcome the poet, after a long
sojourn on the small and low island of Lifuka in the Haapai group. With 539
the high volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao in sight to the westward his appe- 133
tite for wandering got the best of him. He at last obtained surcease for his feelings by sailing to Auhangamea, a deep passage between the islands of Uoleva and Tatafa. From thence he appears to have gone to rugged Tofua, where he scaled the rocky hills and viewed an active volcano and the great crater lake, which occupies the center of the island—a change, indeed, from the gentle charms of low-lying, coconut-enshrouded Lifuka.

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[4] Martin, John (M.D.), An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands in the [113]
South Pacific Ocean, with an original grammar and vocabulary of their language.
Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr. William Mariner, several years resident in those islands, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 293; vol. 2, p. 321, London, John Murray, 1818.

539

Koe Otu Motu o Haapai[5]	The Islands of Haapai
Nofo i Lifuka peau velenga,	I dwelt in Lifuka and I wished,
Fakapo hoto fie eveeva.	Oh, murder! how I wished for a change.
Ne pauu taki Auhangamea.	I mischievously lead to Auhangamea.
Lofia e,	O volcano of Tofua!
Taaki Lofia e,	O eradicating volcano!
Lokavailahi e.	O crater lake of Tofua!

Koe Fakanaanaa oe Fanau a Ulukalala deals with the charms of Vavau and is reminiscent of the song that Martin[6] reproduces. Both songs date from the period of Mariner's sojourn in Tonga. The Ulukalala referred to in the heading of the following lullaby is Mariner's patron—Finau. The lullaby has a mournful strain running through it, for it is the evening song of Ulukalala's children in exile in Tongatabu. The song that Martin and Mariner reproduce is the cheerful ebullition of a poet actually enjoying the beauties of Vavau, not merely calling them to mind when far distant.

Fakanaanaa Koe Fakanaanaa oe Fanau a Ulukalala i Hona Fakalelea mai ki Pea kia Takai mo Fae ihe Hili oe Tau i Feletoa i Vavau[7]	Lullaby . . . . The Lullaby of the Children of Ulukalala in Their Exile at Pea, in Charge of the Chiefs Takai and Fae, After the Battle at Feletoa in Vavau.
Ka malu pea tau e kakapu	It is calm and the mist settles
Ihe otu motulalo o Vavau.	On the outer islands of Vavau.
Pea hange pe oku te folau	It seems as if I were sailing
O kau ka viki hangofia atu.	When I praise it to you.
Neu tuu he toa i Longomapu	I stand at the ironwood tree in Longomapu
Tepa ki he Fakafanuaamanu	And glance from Fakafanuaamanu
Ki he utu mai ae mounga ko Talau	To where rises the mount of Talau
Moe konga vao i Pahalau.	And the woods in Pahalau.
Ohuafi langaia ehe hahau	The smoke stirred by the dew
Kuo tulekina ehe tokelau,	And tilted by the northern wind,
O tokoto hifo i Tolungahaku.	Lies low at Tolungahaku.
Felefata moe hala malumalu	Felefata and the shady road
Kalo ki Koloa moe Otufangavalu;	Leading to Koloa and Otufangavalu.
O mamata he loto ko Utuafu.	There we will see the pool Utuafu.
Hau ta tukua e Hala Ngutungutu;	Come, let us leave the Cliff Road;
Kata kalo ki Tulukingavavau	Let us go to Tulukingavavau
Mo sii hifonga i Anaefu	And descend into the cave Anaefu
Fanongoa mei Anapupu	And listen from the cave Anapupu
Sii ngala ae Utukalongalu.	To the roar of the underground stream.

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[113]

[5] From the manuscript of the Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton, made available by the Rev. E. E. V. Collocott and Rev. R. C. G. Page, of the Methodist Church, Nukualofa, Tonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

[6] Op. cit. vol. I, p. 293.

[113]

[7] From a manuscript belonging to the late John Panuve Maatu, Noble of Ninatoputapu. Translated by Her Majesty Charlotte Tupou, Queen of Tonga.

539

Koe Ngaahi Motu o Tongatabu: Koe Laveofo—Koe Fatu e Tufui[8]

Ke fanongo mai, e kanokanona,
Kau lave motu pe te ke iloa;

Ki homautolu Fangalongonoa.
Ne fua i Onevai he totoka;
Koe motu lelei ia o Tonga,
Lataanga oe fakahakonoa.
 Angi ae matangi tonga,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Mokotuu ena, mo Velitoa;
Hange ha vakatou kuo hola,
Ae tomohopo a Malinoa
Oka tuu matahavili a Tonga.
 Angi ae matangi tonga,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Velitoahihifo mo Monuafe,
Ngata mei Tanoa mo Feleave;
Naa ita i loto oe punake,
He oku vikia ae mata hangale,

Kau foki pe au ki Hahake.
 Angi ae matangi tonga,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Ko Ata koe motua fonua,
Mo Eueiki pea mo Eua;
Nae fusi e Maui ki olunga.
Ko Kalau, e motu ngali niua,

Ne fekei ai ae ongo otua.
Ta koe fingota e fiemua,
Kuo tuku hono ngeesi i uta,
Ka ka alu o heke telefua.
 Angi ae matangi tonga,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Ko Lotuma mo Folokolupe,
Ko Lekiafaitau nofo ne:
Tangaloa e tuu makehe pe,
Ko Puleniafi mo Ongolate.
 Angi ae matangi tonga,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

The Islands of Tongatabu: The Wonder-Chant—The Composition of Tufui

Listen, oh, alto singers,
I will sing of the islands and see if you
 know them;
Yonder the beach of Fangalongonoa.
It was made by Onevai to be calm;
That is the best island of Tonga,
The place allures for a pleasure trip.
 When blows the south wind,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Mokotuu there, and Velitoa;
Like a vessel that has absconded,
The falling and rising of Malinoa
When Tonga stands facing the wind.
 When blows the south wind,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Velitoa-west and Monuafe,
Ending with Tanoa and Feleave;
Lest becomes angry the mind of the poet,
Because is praised the bud of the hangale
 tree,[9]
I will return to the east country.
 When blows the south wind,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Ata is the oldest land
And Eueiki and Eua;
Was pulled up by Maui.
Kalau, an island appearing to have plenty
 of coconuts,
Quarrelled over by two gods.
Why it was a shellfish and cunning,
And left its empty shell on shore,
While it went and crawled naked.
 When blows the south wind,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

Lotuma and Folokolupe,
Lekiafaitau stands here:
There stands Tangaloa aliding,
Puleniafi and Ongolate.
 When blows the south wind,
 He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
 He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

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[113]

[8] From Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 3, p. 9, 1876. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

[9] Hangale tree here symbolizes the Hihifo (west) district of Tongatabu, along the beaches of which it grows.

Vakangotoika, Vakautangu,

Nae tuu i he fanga i Pahu.
Ke fanongo mai ho mau,
Koe ngataanga ia oe motu.

Ka ikai taui pea ke hu.
Angi ae matangi tonga,
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

The vessel that sank the fish and the vessel loaded with yams,
That stood at the beach of Pahu.
Listen to me you,
These are all the islands.

If not contested, then sue for pardon.[11]
When blows the south wind
He-a-e-i-a-ho-la!
He-he-i-a-he-he-a!

KOE FAKAMATALA

Koe mea ki Niuui: oku lau nae fai ae tufa oe ngaahi motu o Tongatapu, pea i he fanongo e he eiki e taha ki he hingoa Niuui naa ne mahalo koe lau ki he niu oku i ai, o ne kalanga leva "Ooku ia." Ka i heene alu ki ai ke vakai hono tofia kuo to, ta oku ikai ha fuu niu e taha e tuu ai.

"Kanatea taeofa." Nae ui pehe koe nofo ai ae otua tahi ko Tui Lalotonga, aia naa ne faa keina ae kakai (naa ko ha fuu tenifa). Pea nae ai ha eiki nae nofo i Nuku, ko Mapafietoa hono hingoa: pea nae mole ha taha i heene fanau koe ngaue kovi a Tui Lalotonga. Pea mamahi ai a Mapa, o ne talatau ki he faahikehe—ka ai hano toa ke ne hau ke na fai. Pea fakamata e Mapa mo hono kakai honau tao, pea nau alu hifo ki tahi; he naa nau pehe kuo pau ke tali he koe otua pea talaehai te ne foi. Ka nae ikai iloa ai ae faahikehe; pea ita a Mapafietoa o ne aa mo hono kakai ki Havelu o nau tutu hono fale nae tuu ai.

THE EXPLANATION

As regards Niuui: it is said, when the islands of Tongatabu were portioned out, and when a certain chief heard the name Niuui, he thought that it referred to the coconuts that were there, and he shouted, "I will have it." When he went to see his inheritance he found that there was not a single coconut tree standing there.

"Kanatea the unkind." It was called by that name because there dwelt there a god of the sea, Tui Lalotonga, who always ate the people (perhaps it was a shark). There dwelt at Nuku a chief by the name of Mapafietoa, and one of his children was lost through the fault of Tui Lalotonga. And Mapa was much grieved and he told the god, if he had any warrior to send him to fight. And Mapa and his people sharpened their spears, and they went down to the sea, and they thought that Tui Lalotonga was sure to accept the challenge because he was a god; and who could say that he would be overcome. But the god was not found there, and Mapafietoa was angry and he forded with his people to Havelu and burnt the god's house that stood there.

KOE TAANGA ENI A TUFUI[12]

1. Ke fanongo mai e lau loto na
Kau lave au ki he Tuatonga.

Ki hoo mautolu liku he totoka
Ta vikia hono tokalinoa.

A CHANT BY TUFUI

1. Listen you who sing bass
While I chant to you about the weather shore of Tonga.
When our weather shore is calm
We will praise its floating jelly-fish.

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[11] The expression means: if another poet cannot outdo this composition then let him sue for pardon.

[12] From manuscript in the possession of Mrs. Rachel Tonga, Pangai, Lifuka. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

11. Anafale pea mo Otaongo, Vaitafe nofo ne ka ma o Matalave e muitolotolo Hake ai ki Vakatauoho.	11. Anafale and Otaongo, O stream stay while we two go To Matalave at the end of the promontory And ascend the shore at Vakatauoho.
12. Ko Makaakiu pea mo Latai, Hoto ofa he Fakaaungalahi; Ko Nuha mo Nuha fakafeangai. Ta hakea Tafulava ki uta ni.	12. The Rock of the Plover and the water of Latai, My love to the surf Fakaaungalahi; Nuha and Nuha face each other. We will go by Tafulava to the shore.
13. Koe Niu hono vai kaukau. Ko Fakamoui nofo kau alu Ko Taanga moe Tufu fakalanu Moe toa malele ki hakau.	13. Niu is his bathing water. Fakamoui, remain while I go To Taanga and the Tufu stream of bathing water And the casuarina tree that bends to the reef.
14. Mahumei moe Koloneulo, Hoto ofa ki Anafeleoko; Talotunu ene fasi paolo Moe maka ko Lefiopopoto.	14. The surf Mahumei and Koloneulo, My love to the Sheltering Cave; The wave Talotunu breaks and creeps And the rock Lefiopopoto.
15. Tufunua hono vai fakakata, Fakahafu[14] ai Tui Haatala; Ene lupe ne fokotuu he maka Ne iloa ehe vaka tuku kafa. Ngata ai e viki matafanga; Ka manatu e pea mate taha.	15. Tufunua and its waters that make one laugh, Tui Haatala submerged his head there; His pigeon was placed on a stone And was found by a vessel putting down the fishing net. That ends the praising of the sea shore; If anyone remembers it all he will die.

KOE TAANGA ENI A FUTA[15]	A CHANT BY FUTA
1. Ke fanongo mai e loto matala, Kau lave au ki he otu fanga, Ki hoo mautolu liku fakalata; Naa viki kehea mai e taha.	1. Listen you with intelligent minds, While I sing of the sea shore, Of our weather shore that entices; Lest some one else should praise it first.
2. Ete viki ka fua he Likutapu, Anahulu ena mo Tukuatu, Fotumoko feangai moe Ngalu, Holaanga o Hina mo Sinilau.	2. My praise will be for the Sacred Weather Shore, The Illuminated Cave there and Tukuatu, Fotumoko which is opposite Ngalu, The place to which Hina and Sinilau fled.
3. Nukumalolo ka ko Laulea Feangai moe Pupuamatea; Fasi mei lalo a Fakaleleva. Ta fanifoa ka tau hakea.	3. Nukumalolo now called Famous Is opposite the deadly whirlpool Pupua; With breakers below stands Fakaleleva. Let us play in the surf, then go ashore.

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[14] Fakahafu is the act of lying on the back in the water, submerging the head, and bringing it up quickly, so that all the hair lies straight back. [481]

[15] From manuscript in the possession of Mrs. Rachel Tonga, Pangai, Lifuka. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker. [113]

14. Kepeliki ena mo Neiafu,	14. Kepeliki there and Neiafu,
Tuulanga uta fasi ke maau.	Where the waves of the shore break and roll in succession.
He telia e matangi tokelau,	When the north wind blows,
Fakaofa e hingano ene hafu.	Pitiful is the dropping of the hingano flowers.
15. Ko Ovaka pea mo Feauaki,	15. Ovaka and Feauaki,
Nukunamo e Hifonga moe Api;	Nukunamo at Hifonga and Api;
Ko Loutokoto ka fasi maahi	At Loutokoto where the waves break
Ta fanifoa kata hake mai.	We two will play in the surf, then go ashore.
16. Anafungavai nofo ne,	16. Cave at the top of the water, stay while we go,
Anafale mo Finetapate	And Anafale and Finetapate
Makapapa moe ulu siale.	And Makapapa and the row of gardenias
Hake ai ki Ngutuofafine.	Let us go up to the place called Ngutuofafine.
17. Laka mei Eua mo fanga lahi,	17. Passing from Eua and the big beach,
Tufu mangamanga ko siono vai:	Brackish and spread open its water:
Kau kefu ene hake taulaki.	Yellowish as though one had washed his head with clay.
Neiloa he vaka tuku meai.	The vessel found the meai fish.
Ngata ai e viki matatahi.	That is the end of my praising the sea shore.
Ka manatu e pea ke mahaki.	If you remember it all you will die.

A CHANT ABOUT LIFUKA—BY FALEPAPALANGI [16]

Hoto ofa talai ki he matangi,	My love tell to the wind,
He mea koa he hua o hai	Which will spread it and fasten
A etau nonofo he fonua ni.	Our dwelling in this land.
Sani mai e fanga ko Keitahi,	Beautiful is the beach at Keitahi,
Moe ongo o Tausisii vakai.	Where the tidings of Tausisii are heard.
Kohai koa kei lata ai?	Who still wishes to stay there?
Ke hange koe otu Haapai:	See the group of Haapai islands:
Ka havili pea fengalomaki,	When stormy they are hidden from view,
Ka malu pea fekitengaki;	When calm they are in sight of each other;
Tau vakaia siene fetaki	Then we see them going hand in hand
Hange ha hua feilongaki.	Like friends who have met.
Amusia Lofia i Vailahi,	Envious of Tofua's volcano at the Big Lake,
Nae tulekina ene ohu afi.	Who pushes out her smoke.
Pea tau mohe lulunga ki ai,	We will sleep to the west of it,
Tau ki Paluki ki he Kasivaki,	Anchor at Paluki at the Kasivaki beach,
Mohe kia Loupua ki Pangai.	And next night sleep at Loupua in Pangai.
Hengihengi pea felangaaki	Early in the morning we'll go about, and see
Ae fefine oka tangitangi	The woman when she plucks the opening bud,

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[16] From the Reverend Dr. J. E. Moulton's manuscript, made available by Rev. E. E. V. Collocott and Rev. R. C. G. Page, of the Methodist Church, Nukualofa, Tonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

Toli ae siale oka mapaki.	And the blown gardenias which are falling.
Tui pea tau kahoa ki tahi.	Threads she the flower garlands for us when we go to sea.
O mamata he vaka papalangi	Let us have a look at the European vessel
Pea moe taulanga tongiaki.	And the double sailing canoe at the anchorage.
Ka funga Toku leva e matangi,	While the north wind blows from the isle of Toku,
Pea fanongoa mei lotoa	There is heard from the chief's enclosure
Kuo peaua e loto fanga,	The roar of the waves on the beach,
Fakanamuli kuo kaina.	Which is peopled with strangers.
Te tuu i Alaimuitoa	Let us stand at the beach Alaimuitoa
Pea ulu alo mai e pua	When blows the wind
I he funga vai i Velitoa.	Over the top of the well at Velitoa.
Hange ha kumi oku folofola	Like a piece of black tapa spread out
Ae tuu ae Tongoleleka.	Lies the beach of Tongoleleka.
Oka teitei to e laa	When the sun is nearly setting
Pea hama e niu i Lifuka.	Stand out like the masts of vessels the coconuts of Lifuka.
Oka taulomaki e tonga	When the south wind blows
Tepa he mounga o Tofua	The mountains of Tofua are seen
Mo tokona Kao kuo kaina.	And the summit of Kao seems peopled.

A CHANT—BY FALEPAPALANGI[27]

Matangi ke tua Koloa	O wind, blow from the back of Koloa island
Ke ke haha he taulanga vaka.	So that you may make rough the anchorage.
Hau ta vikia Nukualofa.	Come, we will praise Nukualofa.
Ke ta hake i Tongataeapa	We will land at Tongataeapa
O fehui ki he otu lotoa,	And ask at the different enclosures,
"Koefe nai Onemalama?"	"Oh, where is Onemalama?"
Nae ai e fa tuutaha	There was there a pandanus standing alone
He esi o Pua mo Fefinea,	Near the mounds of Pua and Fefinea,
He vai ko Finenaakakala.	By the pool of Finenaakakala.
He lotolo ae ngingie uta,	Where the ngingie plant grows on the bank,
Nga ae manu koe toloa.	There cries the wild bird called duck.
Oka langaia he faikava,	When preparation is started for the kava party,
Hau ta tukua veitata;	Come, we two will go together;
Ka ta hake i tukunga tokelau,	We will go up to the north end,
Fale tuuloto mo vakahahau,	To the house standing in the middle and to the vessel of mist,
Moe vai ika tokua ne tanu.	And to the fish pond that was buried, it is said.
Puli ange ha mea iate au,	Is there anything that is forgotten by me,
He ko sii viki a sii Vavau?	When I praise slightly poor Vavau?
Oka tonga e matangi kau alu	When the wind blows from the south, to Vavau I go

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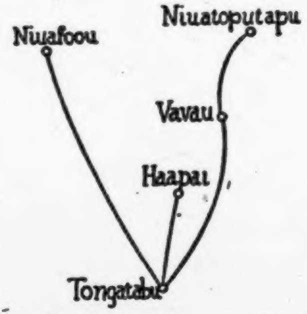
[27] From the Reverend Dr. J. E. Moulton's manuscript, made available by Rev. E. E. V. Collocott and Rev. R. C. G. Page, of the Methodist Church, Nukualofa, Tonga. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

graphic propinquity. Actually Haapai and Vavau have only 86 names exclusively 103
in common, while Haapai and Tongatabu have 193, and Tonga-
tabu and Vavau 212. The evidence seems to point to some disturbing 103
historical factor, perhaps intermittent hostility such as was rife between 174
Haapai and Vavau during Mariner's sojourn in Tonga.

The situation revealed by the distribution of Tongan place names is [128]
roughly shown by the accompanying diagram which is based on the assumption that the principal diffusion has been from the large groups to the small ones. Numerous minor diffusions have doubtless taken place, many of them being reciprocated—that is, for example, not only have names flowed outward from Tongatabu, but they have likewise flowed inward to Tongatabu.



The diagram, and in fact this whole discussion, tacitly assumes a pri- 128
macy for Tongatabu, not only politically, but also in length of period of 174
human occupation. In regard to this last point I should like to state that 172
kitchen middens several feet in depth are to be found in a number of places in the Tongatabu group. With the exception of a thin surface of blackened soil with scattered shell, which I observed on Euakafa island in the Vavau group, I failed to find either in Haapai or Vavau any evidences of prolonged occupancy comparable with those in Tongatabu. Of course, the Tongatabu shell heaps may be interpreted as indicating a denser population, but it would be rash to entirely cast aside the theory of longer occupancy. Quite likely the magnitude of the shell heaps is due to both factors, longer occupancy and denser population.

SAMOAN PLACE NAMES IN TONGA

103

Five hundred and sixteen place names mentioned by Krämer[19] have 177
been examined for Tongan parallels. One hundred and one of the Samoan [128]

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[19] Krämer, Augustin, Die Samoa-Inseln, Stuttgart, 1902, 1903. [113]

104 the Tongan archipelago are represented throughout the gazetteer by the following abbreviations in parentheses: (T) Tongatabu; (H) Haapai; (V) Vavau; (NT) Niuatoputapu; (NF) Niuafoou.

127 The Tongan and scientific names of Tongan birds have been derived
from two papers, one by Finsch and Hartlaub,[20] the other by Gräffe.[21]
I. H. Burkill's Flora of Vavau[22] gives the Tongan as well as the scientific
128 names of a dozen Vavau plants. To a slight degree the scientific names
of Samoan plants and animals were utilized for their apparent Tongan
equivalents where the native names in the two archipelagoes were similar.
Such a proceeding, however, is unsound and has not been carried far by
[127] the author. The few names utilized were derived from Pratt[23] and from
Krämer.[24] The location of villages on the island of Tongatabu and on
the islands of the Vavau group is shown on the maps (fig. 1 and fig. 2).

127 No charts were available for showing the position of the villages on the island of Niuafoou, namely: Mua, Tongamamao, Sapaata, Mataaho, Fataulua, Angaha, Ahau, and Petani; nor for those on the island of Niuatoputapu, namely: Vaipoa, Hihifo, Matavai, and Falehau.

113 For the location of islands, reefs, channels, hills, and other geographic features within the Tongan Archipelago, standard atlases, British Admiralty charts, and the following charts issued by the Hydrographic Office of the United States Navy may be consulted:

No. 1500, Pacific Ocean, scale 3/16 in.=1° of longitude. Shows the entire kingdom of Tonga, from Ata (Pylstaart) island in the south to Niuafoou in the north.

No. 2021, Fiji Islands to Samoa Islands, scale 2 9/16 in.=1° of longitude. Shows the entire kingdom of Tonga except the southernmost island, Ata (Pylstaart).

No. 2016, Tonga, or Friendly Islands, scale 1/8 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows the entire kingdom of Tonga, except the northern islands: Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, and Tafahi.

No. 2013, Tongatabu, scale 2 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows the northern half of Tongatabu and the northern islands of the Tongatabu group including Eueiki. Eua and Kalau islands are not shown.

No. 2010, Nukualofa Anchorage and Nomuka Harbor, scale 4 in.=1 nautical mile; Eua Island, 1 in.=1 nautical mile; Falcon Island, 1 14/16 in.=1 nautical mile. Details of Tongatabu harbor and of Nomuka (in Haapai) and neighboring islands are also shown. The village of Kolomaile on Eua island is designated as Haatua.

No. 2006, Namuka group, scaue 1 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows the southernmost portion of the modern province of Haapai; namely, Nomuka and adjacent islands.

No. 2008, Haapai group, southern portion, scale 1 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows the

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[113] [20] Finsch, O. and Hartlaub, G.: Zur Ornithologie der Tonga-Inseln, Journ. für Ornith., pp. 119-140, 1870.

[113] [21] Gräffe, Edward. Ornithologische Mittheilungen aus Central Polynesien, I. Die Vogelwelt der Tonga-Inseln, Journ. für Ornith., pp. 401-420, 1870.

[113] [22] Journ. Linn. Soc. London, vol. 35, pp. 20-65, 1901.

[113] [23] Pratt's Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language, 4th ed., London Missionary Society, Malua, Samoa, 1911.

[24] Krämer, Augustin, Die Samoa Inseln, Stuttgart, 1902, 1903.

islands of the central portion of the modern province of Haapai. The four villages of Lifuka Island are shown. On Uiha island, the southerly town is Felemea; the northerly, Uiha. 113

No. 2007, Haapai group, northern portion, scale 1 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows the northern third of the modern province of Haapai, including the islands of Foa and Haano. From south to north the villages on Foa are: Fangaleounga (shown as Fongingonga on the chart), Fotua (shown as Alaki Fonua), Lotofoa, and Faleloa. From south to north the villages of Haano are: Fakakakai (spelled Fakakai on the chart). Pukotala (spelled Bukutala), Haano, and Muitoa.

No. 2012, Vavau group, scale 1 in.=1 nautical mile. Shows geographic details and the location of some villages.

No. 2009, Lifuka Island Anchorage, scale 4 3/16 inches=1 nautical mile. A large scale map of Lifuka Island, Haapai.

No. 1083, Neiafu Harbor and approaches; Ofolanga Island and anchorage, scale 5 14/16 inches=1 nautical mile. A large scale map of Ofolanga Island, Haapai, and Neiafu harbor, Vavau group.

Star names not already listed by Collocott[25] are included in the gazetteer. 128

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[25] Collocott, E. E. V., Tongan astronomy and calendar: B. P. Bishop Mus., Occ. paper, vol. 8, pp. 158-162, 1922. [113]

Liuangakauaiihi. A place where the whistling birds return [liu, to return; anga, habit, position, where anything takes place; kau, plural; aiiki, a whistling sound]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord. 103

Loa. Name of a plant, the fruit of which was used as a cosmetic to tint the face a red color before going to war. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Loafa. To besmear the body with pandanus juice(?) [loa, to besmear the body; fa, pandanus]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Loamanu. Tomb near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Malapo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Luani, landlord. Also four royal tombs of the Tui Haatakalaua near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). The names of three were ascertained: Langifalepulemaalo, Langifaletuipapai, Langiloamanu. [764]

Loanoa. To besmear the body at random [loa, to besmear the body; noa, random]. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Lofanitani. This frigate bird stained [lofa, frigate bird (Fregata aquila); ni, this; tani, to be stained]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Lofanga. Many landing places [lo, many; fanga, landing place]. Island (H). Also tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Lofia. A volcano. Volcano on Tofua island (H).

Lohifo. Many offered in sacrifice [lo, many; hifo, to offer in sacrifice]. Tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veikune, landlord. Also tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

Loholohoa. To beat with the thick stem of the branch on which coconuts grow. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Loiamoeake. Surfeited in eating and convalescent [loia, surfeited; moe, and; ake, convalescent]. Tract near Vaimalo, village on Vavau island (V).

Loka. A rough or tempestuous sea. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Lokavailahi. Rough large water [loka, rough; vai, water; lahi, large]. Crater lake on Tofua island (H).

Lokea. Under the shade of the breadfruit tree [lo, short of lolo in the shade; kea, a species of breadfruit]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H)—Fakakakai, landlord.

Lokiai. A room made of ai wood [loki, room; ai, name of a tree which bears small nuts]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Lokifue. A room of fue vine [loki room; fue, a climbing plant]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Lokilau. A room full of leaves [loki, room; lau, leaves]. Tract on Ovaka island (V).

Loko. Very, in a great degree. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). This tract consists of an islet.

Lokofa. To feel after anything as one blind, very carefully [loko, very, in great degree; fa, to feel after anything, as one blind feels his way]. Tract and cave near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T). A cave with running water, in which the mullet were supposed to have been imprisoned, on Nuku, an islet in the great lagoon of Tongatabu near Nukuhitulu. This stream is said to connect with another called Lokupo. Compare myth concerning imprisoned mullet[88]. [773]

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[88] Gifford, E. W., Tongan Myths and Tales; Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bul. 8, 1923. [113]

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

Maalinoa. To fit across at random [maali, to fit across; noa, random]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Maanaha. Southwestern point of Ofolanga island (H).

Maanungatu. Anything floating and moving [maanu, to float; ngatu, to be on the move]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Maananga. Well known. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T) in district of Haamea. (See Bishop Mus. Occ. Papers, vol. VIII, p. 100, 1922.) [113]

Maanuvalu. Swimming of the valu fish [maanu, to swim; valu, a fish]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Maangaatu. A mouthful of bonito [maanga, mouthful; atu, bonito]. Tract on Fotuhaa island (H).

Maangaika. Mouthful of fish [maanga, mouthful; ika, fish]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Maangalua. Disgorged mouthful [maanga, mouthful; lua, to disgorge]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Maangi. To be ashamed to superintend [ma, to be ashamed; angi, to superintend]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Maangimoui. To be ashamed to superintend the living [ma, to be ashamed; angi, to superintend; moui, to live]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

Maapuapu. Tract near Matahau, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Maasi. Ashamed to pass through [ma, to be ashamed; asi, to pass through]. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Ahomee, landlord.

Maataane. For a chief's marriage [maa, for; taane, a chief's marriage]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V).

Maea. Rope. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Maeahalafa. Four-ply rope [maea, rope; hala, strand; fa, four]. Tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).

Mafakituu. To be separated standing [mafaki, to be separated; tuu, to stand]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Mafana. Warm. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also island (V).

Mafelo. Yellow bread [ma, bread; felo, yellow]. District on Niuafoou island (NF).

Mafue. To lie scattered and in confusion. Tract on Fonoifua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

Mafusi. A very taut string. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Maha. Empty, devoid. Tract near Tufuvai, village on Eua island (T).

Mahafa. Devoid of pandanus trees [maha, devoid; fa, pandanus tree]. Beach near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mahakiosiatu. A past sickness [mahaki, illness, sickness; osiatu, finished, done]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.

Mahamaha. Act of emptying. Tract near Koloua, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mahei. A euphemism for war, said to mean literally flowers in bloom. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Talasiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

Mahifoou. New acidity [mahi, acidity; foou, new]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

teiho, landlord. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).

Papalaloa. Long timber on which tapa is printed [papa, a long hollow piece of wood on which tapa is printed; *loloa, long*]. *Tract near* Fataulua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Papatai. To beat the sand level as a child does when playing on the beach [papa, plain, even as a road much trodden; tai, to beat, to strike]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Papatea. Whitish papa fish [papa, a fish; tea, whitish]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Papekinoa. To strike the one who has nothing [pa, to strike; pe, only; ki, to; noa, nothing. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Papiete. Papeete, Tahiti. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Utulei, village on Pangaimotu island (V).

Pasipasi. To have become incapable of exciting interest; to weary by the same thing over and over again. Tract on Lape island (V). Tracts near Matamaka and Nuapapu, villages on Nuapapu island (V).

Patapata. Rough. Tract near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V).

Patavale. Foolish (to select?) gravel [pata, gravel; vale, foolish]. Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

Patepate. A name given to small inferior yams. Tract in Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Pato. The Muscovy duck. Tract near Matahau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Pau. Confident, fixed, determined, certain, definite. Tract near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also island (V).

Paumoleva. Mbau and Rewa, two Fijian towns [pau, Mbau; mo, and; leva, Rewa]. Tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Paunieono. Six pounds [pauni, pound; e, by; ono, six]. A modern name commemorating theft of six-pound tin of beef from store, by lessee of this tract. Tract on Nukunukumotu island (T). The ancient name was Laulaupehele.

Paunofo. Certain of dwelling [pau, certain; *nofo*, to dwell]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).

Pauteni. Name of a tree. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T) —Vaea, landlord.

Pauu. Mischief. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Pava. The house or holy place (potu tapu) of the god Ngaoaa, located on the tract Tave near Holopeka?, village on Lifuka island (H).

Pavaka. Shield of a canoe [pa, shield; vaka, canoe]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Pavilioni. Pavilion. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Pea. Bear. A fortified village on Tongotabu island (T), so named by the chief Takai to signify the strength of the fortress.[a]

Peapea. Island (H).

Peesisio. Conquered ones (with) girdles going [pee, conquered one; sisi, girdle made of leaves and flowers; o, to go (applied to two or more)]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

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[a] Pea is mentioned in John Martin, An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, 2nd. ed., vol. 1, p. 112, London, John Murray, 1818.

4: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

103 Ponepe; he died a few years ago. It seems likely to me that Ponape in the Carolines was more probably the home of this individual.

Ponilaula. Probably Penilaula: Ben Fleet [peni, Ben, Benjamin; laula, fleet]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Ponono. Catching nono insects [po, to catch; nono, name of an insect]. Tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Tafeuni, village on Vavau island (V).

Popoakinoa. To send a message for nothing [popoaki, to send a message; noa, for nothing]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Popoakuoa. Loose rotten earth thrown up with the hands [popo, rotten; aku, to throw up loose earth with the hands]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Popoloto. Rotten inside [popo, rotten; loto, inside]. Tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

Popua. To catch seaweed [po, to catch; pua, seaweed]. Tract on Eua island (T). Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Utulau, Nukualofa, Maufanga, Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord, Manuka, Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also hill on Tongatabu island (T), east of Maufanga; the hill is called Cook's hill. Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Tracts near Neiafu and Toula, villages on Vavau island (V).

[773] **Popuahololufi.** Popua of the knocked down yams [holoi, to knock down; ufi, yam]. The name evidently refers to the mythical sending down of yams from the sky. (See story of the first Tui Tonga[38]). Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Popualalo. Lower Popua [lalo, lower]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).

Popuatahi. Popua by the sea [tahi, sea]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Popuauta. Inland Popua [uta, inland]. Tract near Houma, village on Eua island (T).

Posi. To hiss in anger. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Potaele. Night of bathing [po, night; taele, to bathe]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Potauhi. An undergrowth of uhi shrub [pota, undergrowth; uhi, a shrub]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Poteki. To seize and cause to start in fright [po, to seize; teki, to start, as in fright]. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Poto. A shellfish. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Potoi. Real clever. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Potokoma. Bay of Poto shellfish [poto, a shellfish; komaki, a bay]. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Potokouna. Wisdom in commanding [poto, wisdom; kouna, to command]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Potuhala. Wrong place [potu, place; hala, wrong]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Potuvela. Hot place [potu, place; vela, hot]. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

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(113) [38] Gifford, E. W. Tongan myths and tales: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bul. 8, 1923.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Myths and Tales

COMPILED BY EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

INTRODUCTION

The printing press has undoubtedly done more to preserve the extant 114
Tongan myths and legends than has oral transmission. Fortunately, both
the Wesleyan Methodist and the Roman Catholic churches in Tonga adopted
the broad policy of publishing in their Tongan language magazines many
stories from raconteurs now long dead. A number of tales presented in 127
the following pages are drawn from these sources.

A series of stories was recorded at first hand from Tongan narrators 124
during my nine months sojourn in Tonga in 1920-1921. For many of them
the published versions, rather than the tales of some elder relative, were
the relater's source of information. For such tales I have discarded the 128
oral account and have presented only a translation of the printed version. 127

European folk tales have also been published in Tongan for the delecta- 177
tion of the Tongan public. As a result I not infrequently found myself
recording some well known story, such as Cinderella or Dick Whitting- 538
ton's Cat, under a thin disguise of Polynesian names. There were also [124]
hybrid tales in which the leading roles were played by princes, princesses,
and premiers, or again by cats and ferocious mammals.

Through the diligent efforts of the late Reverend Father Francis Xavier 113
Reiter of the Catholic Church and of the Reverend E. E. V. Collocott of the 114
Methodist Church, a number of Tongan myths have been presented in the
anthropological periodicals Anthropos and Folk-Lore. Myths thus recorded 128
are not reproduced in this paper, except insofar as I secured variants or the
original Tongan text.

Modern Tongans have a distinct national pride and feel that they con- 186
stitute a nation superior to their neighbors. I am inclined to believe that
this national spirit is a survival from ancient times, which has been fanned
into fresh vigor under the astute guidance of that remarkable ruler, King
George I. Tupou. An undoubted manifestation of this patriotic feeling is [814]
the interest taken by many Tongans in the past of their nation. As a result 123
of this widespread interest the expedition met with hearty coöperation from
Tongans as well as from Europeans.

The interest of the educated Tongan in the past of his country is well 539
illustrated by the following Tongan verse written by the late chief Tafolo, 814
a scion of the Tui Tonga's house.

539	Fakamolemole a houeiki mo ngaohi haa,	Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
	He oku mamao mo faingataa ae faanga;	For the searching place is now far and difficult;
814	Koe tolutalu nae tuu holo he ngahi halanga	The old plantations once scattered on the roads
	Kuo fuu puli pea alu mo hono toutangata.	Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
	Ka ne ongo ene vao fihi mo tevavaa,	But although they now lie in very thick bush,
	Kae fai pe ha vavaku mo sia faala	Search will be made at any rate
	Kia Touiafutuna, koe uluaki maka	For Touiafutuna, the first rock
	Nae fai mei ai hotau kamataanga.	Where our origin began.
	Kehe koe talatupua ia mo fananga,	Though these are only traditions and fables,
	Oku utuutu mei ai sii kau faa.	'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

127 My thanks are due to Her Majesty the Queen of Tonga, to the Prince Consort William Tungi, to Messrs. W. H. Murley, J. P. Maatu, E. E. V. Collocott, and to Mrs. Rachel Tonga for generously allowing me to use unpublished tales which they had recorded. The Methodist and Catholic churches, through their representatives, the Rev. R. C. G. Page, Rev. E. E. V. Collocott, and His Lordship Bishop Joseph Felix Blano courteously placed the old manuscripts in their archives at my disposal. 128 For the patient and painstaking work of Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker in translating hundreds of pages of Tongan text I am especially grateful. To others I am indebted for similar work, to wit: Mr. Alphonse J. Gaffney, Mr. Solomon Ata, Mrs. May Laurence, Mr. E. E. V. Collocott, Mr. W. H. Murley, Mr. William Finau, Miss Georgina Sutherland and Miss Lena Hettig. 124 Acknowledgment of the help of various Tongans who related stories is made in connection with their contributions.

104 [114] Two excellent dictionaries of the Tongan language offer a choice in orthography. One is the compilation of the Catholic Missionaries of the Marist Brotherhood,[1] and the other is the compilation of the Reverend Shirley W. Baker.[2] I have, with one exception, elected to follow the orthography set forth on pages 1 and 2 of the Dictionnaire Toga-Francais because it conforms more closely to the orthography of other Polynesian dialects. In the present paper sixteen symbols in all are used, of which five represent vowels and eleven consonants. The vowels are *a, e, i, o,* and *u* and the consonants are *f, h, k, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t,* and *v. Ng* is used in this paper in place of the *g* employed in both the Catholic dictionary and Baker's dictionary.

Baker's dictionary differs from the Catholic dictionary in using both *b* and *p* instead of *p* alone; and *s* and *j* instead of *s* alone. Consequently, in

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[113] [1] Missionnaires Maristes, Dictionnaire Toga-Francais et Francais-Toga-Anglais. Paris, Ch. Chadenat, 1890.

[113] [2] Baker, Shirley W., An English and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary, with a list of idiomatic phrases; and Tongan Grammar, Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

TONGAN MYTHOLOGY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TONGANS

127 171 121 Though it is premature for a detailed comparison of Tongan mythology with other Polynesian mythologies, the writer has attempted a rough approximation of the affinities of Tongan mythology to the mythologies of the great areas of the Pacific as presented in Roland B. Dixon's "Oceanic Mythology."[a]

127 128 171 Having Tongan mythology quite thoroughly in mind, Dixon's book on Oceanic mythology was read and a check mark entered in the margin wherever an episode appeared to have a Tongan parallel. If error was made it was on the side of entering too many check marks, for undoubtedly some of the episodes checked as having Tongan parallels, in truth have not, as the resemblance in certain instances was rather remote. Upon completing the book it was found that there were sixty-seven check marks in the Polynesian part, forty-eight in the Indonesian, twenty-seven in the Micronesian, ten in the Melanesian, and six in the Australian. These figures undoubtedly represent in a rough fashion the affinities of Tongan mythology. It was to be expected that resemblances to Polynesia would be numerous, and undoubtedly when the other members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition have published their reports the number of resemblances will be materially increased.

The number of parallels between Indonesia and Tonga are astonishingly large, being more than four times the number that are found between Tonga and Melanesia. Many of the resemblances between Tonga and Indonesia are so specific that it is hard to believe they are merely accidental. In fact, the high number of resemblances, forty-eight, would preclude accident as the sole factor, especially when contrasted with only ten resemblances between Tonga and adjacent Melanesia.

171 128 The paucity of the Micronesian material undoubtedly accounts for the fact that only twenty-seven resemblances were found between it and Tongan material. On the other hand, allowing for the scarcity of Micronesian material, this is a fairly high figure and would seem to indicate that the connection between Tonga and Indonesia is by way of Micronesia rather than Melanesia.

174 The Tongan myths and tales in themselves throw a little light on the geographic aspect of Tongan origins.

773 538 In looking over the field of Tongan mythology, one is struck by the frequency of derivation of plants and fishes from Samoa, from the sky, and from Pulotu (the land of the gods), and by the absence of allusions to Fiji as a place from which useful plants and animals have been derived.

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[a] Dixon, Roland B., The mythology of all races: Oceanic, vol. 9, Boston, 1916.

174 Certain features of Tongan mythology appear to bear on the internal
history of the country.

773 The localization of the Maui adventures in the Vavau and Tongatabu
538 groups, to the exclusion of the Haapai group, is probably more than mere
accident. Moreover the Maui tale appears to be a composite of two separate local cycles, one of which makes Koloa in the Vavau group their residence, the other of which makes Eua in the Tongatabu group their residence. The fact should not be overlooked in this connection that Mariner states that Tangaloa was the god who drew the Tonga islands from the deep to the surface of the waters.[4]

In Haapai the place of Maui is largely filled by the hero Muni, whose exploits somewhat resemble Maui's. Peculiar also to Haapai are the stories of the Son of the Sun.

174 The mythological position of Haapai is partly paralleled in place names.
Haapai and Tongatabu have 425 names in common, Vavau and Tongatabu
[103] 446, but Vavau and Haapai only 168. Both the mythological and ethnogeographical evidence point to an aloofness of Haapai anciently, particularly in respect to Vavau.

Tongatabu is pre-eminent both ethnogeographically and mythologically.
[103] In an ethnogeographic sense it was the center from which influence flowed
both to Haapai and Vavau, judging by the hundreds of place names it
174 holds in common with these two groups. Mythologically, it is the islands
of Ata and Tongatabu that are hauled first to the surface of the waters
773 by the Maui. Men, too, were created in the Tongatabu group and furthermore, the first Tui Tonga was the son of a woman of Tongatabu by a divine mate, the god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. Even the hero Muni, although he spent his boyhood in Haapai, was of Tongatabuan origin and performed in Tongatabu his doughtiest deeds.

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[113] [4] Martin, John, M.D., An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, with an original grammar and vocabulary of their language. Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr. William Mariner, several years resident in those islands. In two volumes. Vol. 2, pp. 116, 121, 1817 edition, London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1817.

FISON'S "TALES FROM OLD FIJI"

Lorimer Fison's Tales from Old Fiji[8] include a number of stories which 171
have Tongan parallels. As Fison's collection is from eastern Fiji, a region
with much Tongan blood in its population, the parallels are to be expected. 538
Of the twelve tales he presents, six are matched by the Tongan tales presented [113]
in this paper. Two others refer specifically to Tonga, but have no [144]
parallels in my collection. Of these two, one concerns Napoleon. The 538
second concerns "The Beginning of Death" and was told by the famous
Tongan chief Maafu, whose military operations in Fiji in the last century
won him renown.

Maafu's version of the origin of death, to wit: that certain gods came 538
from Pulotu to dwell in Tongatabu and there became mortal and subject to 773
disease and death, was not encountered in any of the tales which I gathered
in Tonga. The same motive, however, is recorded in Mariner's work on
Tonga[9]. Included in Maafu's tale, as a necessary preliminary to mortal
existence, is the land-fishing of Maui, whereby Ata and Tongatabu are
hauled from the depths. Then Tongatabu becomes the home of the runaway
gods of Pulotu, who become mortal. Maafu's tale conveys a striking
picture of the spiteful character of Hikuleo, who becomes the lord
of Pulotu, after Tangaloa goes to the sky and Maui goes under Tongatabu
to keep it from sinking. Although many details in Maafu's story occur 538
in other Tongan tales, for example, the "water of life" and the "tree of
speech," Maafu's particular combination of details and episodes is unique.

Fison's Fijian tales unquestionably are, in large measure, nothing but 538
Tongan tales. Fison points out that many of his tales are notable for their 171
Fijian coloring in spite of their dealing with Tongan characters. He mentions
especially the story of Longapoa, and stresses the references to cannibalism.
On the whole, references to cannibalism are rather scarce in Tongan
tales.

It seems legitimate to regard Fison's tales and my collection as two 538
branches from a single Tongan trunk, branches which separated from the 171
parent stem many generations ago. Each has since pursued its growth 174
with a fair degree of independence. On the one hand, Fison's transplanted
tales flourished in a new environment, where they were to a considerable
extent influenced by Fijian ideas. On the other hand, the tales
which were ultimately collected by me continued to develop in their own
native environment. However, intercourse between Tonga and Fiji
(especially the Tongan colonists in Fiji) was probably but seldom inter-

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[8] De la More Press, London, 1907.

[9] Martin, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 126.

COSMOGONY

773 Tongan cosmogony, unlike some other Polynesian cosmogonies, does
171 not tell of a void in the beginning, but instead tacitly assumes the preexistence of the sky, the sea, and the land of Pulotu (the home of the souls of departed chiefs).

113 The Tongan creation myth has happily been published in both Tongan and French by Father Reiter.[13] In 1910 Josiah Martin [14] published a portion of the Tongan creation story in which the fishing up of the island of Tongatabu is related. Reverend E. E. V. Collocott [15] has published a free translation of the account of the origin of the gods and of the world. Creation myths have also been published in the Tongan language.[16]

128 In the present paper only the variants of these published accounts are recorded.

114 The account by Father Reiter and that by Collocott disagree as to the
paternity of the Maui, the former naming the god Taufulifonûa as the
776 father, the latter the god Biki (Piki). The manuscript of J. P. Maatu agrees with Father Reiter's account in proclaiming Taufulifonua the father of the Maui. But Maatu's manuscript goes further and lists them as Maui Loa, Maui Puku, and Maui Atalanga. Collocott lists them as Maui-motua, Maui-buku, and Maui Atulanga.

114 Again Maatu's manuscript is specific where the published accounts are
not. It states that the particular sort of *kiu* (snipe or plover), in which
773 Tangaloa Atulongolongo became incarnate in his search for land, was the
tulione. A second version in Maatu's manuscripts is not so specific. It
114 does, however, state that the writers of the version were Kelekele and Tokemoana, who with Tongavalevale and the Tamaha Amelia were the writers of a similar account that I obtained from Jonathan Fonua of Neiafu, Vavau.

773 In the Tongan cosmogonical tales there is no hint of the creation of the sea, sky, sun, moon or stars. Their preëxistence is either stated or tacitly assumed.

539 The account of the origin of the gods in the old manuscript in the possession of Mr. John Panuve Maatu describes the origin of sexual intercourse by the twin deities Taufulifonua (male) and Havea Lolofonua (female): "And Piki and Kele made a new country which they named Tonga Mamao (Distant Tonga) and took their children Taufulifonua and Havea Lolofonua

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[13] Reiter, P., Traditions tonguiennes, Anthropos, vol. 2, pp. 230-236, 438-443; 743-750, 1907.

[14] Martin, Josiah, Origin of the name of Tonga Island: Jour. Poly. Soc., vol. 19, pp. 163-166, 1910.

[15] Collocott, E. E. V., A Tongan theogony: Folk-Lore, vol. 30, pp. 234-238, 1919.

[16] (1) By Taufapulotu, Koe tupuaga o mamani mo hono kakai, Koe Fafagu, vol. 4, pp. 122-127, 1906; (2) By the Tamaha, Kelekele, Tokemoana, and Tongavalevale, the origin tale, published in Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 4, pp. 22-26, 51-55, 74-78, 1881-1883; (3) Koe talanoa ki Eua, Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 4, pp. 109-111, 1881-1883.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Pea o hifo leva ae hopa mei langi, ke tuu i Ata. Ko hono hingoa oe hopa koia, koe putalinga, koe hopa fungani lelei; ka oku ikai ha hopa ilaloni; ka koe tupu mei langi ae hopa koe putalinga. Pea toki movete ai o tuu kotoape i he fonua kehekehe; ka koe o hifo mei langi o fua tuu i Ata. Koe ngoue o Laufakanaa, pea o hifo ai leva moe akau koe si, hono hingoa. Aeni oku tao hono foha o ngau, pea ngaahi aki ae ma o hingoa koe poopooi, pea ngaahiaki ai mea kai kehekehe; he koe akau oku lelei, pea aonga; he oku kau foki ki he ngaahi mea kai kotoape.

Pea o hifo foki ae ufi; ko hono hingoa koe nguata, koe o hifo ia ke tuu i Ata. Pea o hifo foki ae ufi e taha, koe tuaata, hono hingoa, o o hifo foki ia o tuu i Ata. He koe ngaahi akau kai koia, koe tupu mei Ata. Pea koe toki fakatupu kehekehe e ngaahi tevolo niihi ae meakai kehekehe. He kou osi ae talanoa ki Ata.

And the native banana was brought 539
down from the sky and planted at Ata.
The name of that banana is *putalinga*,
a very nice banana; there was no
banana here below, but originally there
came from the sky the banana *putalinga*.
Then it was scattered and it
grew in all the different lands; however
it came from the sky and first
grew at Ata. Its (appearance on earth)
was the work of Laufakanaa, and (he)
also brought the plant called *si*. The [262]
root of this is baked and chewed, and
is also cooked with native bread, and
is called *poopooi*, and other kinds of
food are made from it; because it is a
very good root, and useful; therefore
it is used in many kinds of food.

And the yam was brought down also; its name is *nguata*, and it was brought down to plant at Ata. And was brought down another yam, called *tuaata*, which was planted at Ata. All these food plants grew first on Ata. And then some of the gods created other kinds of food plants. That is all of the narrative about Ata.

The printed Tongan tales of the origin of the first Tongan land do not 114
make it clear whether the Ata island, which the myths designate together 773
with Eua island as the first land, is the low Ata island lying a few miles
north of Tongatabu or the lofty and probably volcanic Ata or Pylstaart
island lying more than fifty miles south of Tongatabu. Collocott maintains 773
that it is the adjacent island that is meant and several elderly natives whom 124
I interviewed held the same view. Among these natives were two former 114
inhabitants of the distant Ata or Pylstaart. Furthermore, Tongan legends
place the discovery of Pylstaart only a few generations ago. 773

On the other hand, Bishop Blanc[17] takes the stand that it is the distant 114
Ata or Pylstaart that is referred to in the myths, thus making the two first
created lands (Eua and Ata) both lofty in contradistinction to the low-lying
Tongatabu, later hauled to the surface with Maui's fish hook. Commander
Wilkes, U. S. N.,[17a] and the Reverend Walter Lawry[17b] explicitly
state (both from the same missionary source) that the Ata referred to
is Pylstaart. No modern native evidence supports these assertions. How- 539
ever, Maafu's account[18] of the land-fishing of the Maui makes mention of 773

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[17] P. Soane Malia, Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique, chapter 3, Librarie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, 1910, Lyon, Paris. [113]

[17a] Wilkes, Charles, U.S.N., Narrative of the U. S. Expl. Exped., 1838-1842, vol. 3, p. 23, Philadelphia, 1845. [113]

[17b] Lawry, Walter, Friendly and Feejee Islands, 2nd ed., p. 113, London, 1850. [113]

[18] Fison, Lorimer, Tales from Old Fiji, page 144, London, 1907.

by John Takataka, of Hihifo, Lifuka island, Haapai. It is of special interest because it makes two chiefs, besides the Tui Tonga, the descendants 539 173 of gods—namely, the chief Faingaa and the famous Loau. Descent from the Maui is ascribed to Faingaa and is corroborated by the published tales of the Maui.[20] Takataka's derivation of the chief Loau from Hikuleo, the great god of Pulotu, the world of the departed, lacks corroboration, as does the statement that the great chiefs called Tui Haatakalaua constituted Loau's descendants.

Takataka's tale follows: 539

Kele and Limu drifted to Pulotu and wedded. Two children were born, a male named Toiukamea and a female named Maimoaalongona. These two married and twins were born, a male child named Taufulifonua and a female child. Later appeared the twins Fonuuta and Fonutahi, and also the twins known as Velesii and Velelahi. These twins intermarried.

Taufulifonua wedded his twin sister, from whom sprang Havea Hikuleo. Fonuuta and Fonutahi married and from their union came the Maui. Velesii and Velelahi married and from them the Tangaloa arose.

When Taufulifonua was close unto death he divided the universe, saying: "The Tangaloa shall rule the sky. The domain of the Maui will be this world. Havea Hikuleo, thou shalt rule Pulotu and this world." The path to Pulotu is between Eua and Kalau islands and a great rock known as Makaooa stands there.

The descendants of the Tangaloa were the Tui Tonga. The descendant 539 173 of Maui Motua was Faingaa of the Tui Talau. The descendant of Havea Hikuleo was Loau, from whom arose the Tui Haatakalaua.

The second tale, told by Mesake Lomu, of Fotua, Foa island, Haapai, 539 speaks of the three Maui (Motua, Atalanga and Kisikisi) as brothers and bestows upon them their sister Hina. In most versions they are treated as grandfather, father and son. Hina bore to Kisikisi four children—Tangaloa, Io, Kohai and Afulunga. From the standpoint of the published Tongan cosmogony, the tale is a hopeless jumble. Mesake Lomu's story is as follows:

The husband of the goddess Heimoana, whose incarnation was the sea snake, was Malekulaulua. Heimoana's first son was Maui Motua, her second son was Maui Atalanga, her third son Maui Kisikisi, and her fourth child was Hina, a girl.

After attaining maturity the sons went to their work, leaving Hina and their parents at home. One day, while Hina was thus remaining at home, Maui Kisikisi hung chesnut (*ifi*) leaves about his neck and stole back to his parents' house. He touched Hina's chest just above her breasts and she

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[20] Reiter, P., Anthropos, vol. XIV-XV, 141, 1919-1920; Collocott, E. E., Folk-Lore, vol. XXXII, 57, 1921.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

EXPLOITS OF THE MAUI

The full Tongan cycle of the exploits of the Maui (exclusive of the 113
land-fishing expedition which is incorporated with the Tongan cosmogony) has recently been published in Tongan with an accompanying French translation.[21] The Reverend E. E. V. Collocott subsequently published a free English translation of the same Tongan account.[22] Tongan accounts have also appeared in two Tongan publications.[23]

Since the subject has been so fully covered there is but little left for 128
me to present. However, there is a brief Tongan poem about Maui, accompanied by a prose account of him. These were obtained by the Reverend J. E. Moulton and made available to me by Messrs. R. C. G. Page [127]
and E. E. V. Collocott. The poem and prose account, with Miss Baker's translation, follow:

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Lau koe ngataanga e langi e teve,	It is said that the boundary of the sky was a *teve* plant,
Pea tuu a Maui o teketeke	That Maui stood and pushed up the sky
Aki e u kae alu e fefine faele	With a stick for a confined woman
Ae langi na ka tau haele.	So that we might under the sky walk upright.
'Tupaheo!	Tupaheo!
Kulo moe hafu hau ta tukua	Pot and drift come and let us leave
Matatolu siene tafe mo puna.	The spring Matatolu which runs and flows.
Umu si a Maui i Eua	Maui at Eua cooked *si* root
Tao aipe ke moho huhua.	Until it was juicy.
Tupa!	Clap!
Koefe a Maui nae vave?	Where is Maui who was quick?
Naa ne lava ki hake e toke	He was able to lift the eel
He luo he ana i Kulukave.	From the hole of the cave in Kulukave.
Tupa!	Clap!
Ko Utukakai mo Talaamohi,	[The places] Utukakai and Talaamohi,
Ko Namalata kuo toka kovi,	[The place] Namalata was very rough
Koefe a Maui ne tafoki	Where is Maui who when he turned
Ke mavava kae fakafai foki?	Shook the earth and did it again?
Tupa!	Clap!
Ko Kohi hono tuuanga u.	[The place] Kohi where he thrust in his stick.
Koefe a Maui nae lau,	Where is Maui they talk about,
Naa ne lavai e vanahuhu,	Who overcame the stinging sea-urchin,
Pea moe koka nae feuu?	And the *koka* tree that bites?
Tupa!	Clap!
Koefe a Maui nea toa,	Where is Maui who was brave,
Naa ne tolotolongi e moa	Who threw stones at the fowl

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[21] Anthropos, vol. XII-XIII, 1026-1046, 1917-1918; XIV-XV, 125-142, 1919-1920.

[22] Folk-Lore, vol. XXXII, 45-58, 1921.

[23] (1) Koe talanoa ki he kau Maui, Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 4, pp. 111-114, 133-136, 153-155, 1881-1883; vol. 5, pp. 14-17, 1883-1885; (2) Koe talanoa kihe kau Maui, Koe Fafagu, vol. 5, pp. 104-108, 125-130, 146-150, 167-172, 184-188, 197-202, 211-216, 1907. The author is Taufapulotu.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Kisikisi kae tuli e Maui Motua ki Pulotu. Pea koe ngata ia o eku talanoa kovi kia Maui, ka oka hala mou kataki pe he koe kii sii au.

him to Pulotu. That is the end of my poor story about Maui. Please excuse me if it is wrong, for I am only of the present day. 539

An account of the exploits of the Maui, obtained from Wellington Lavaka of Haakio, Vavau, states that before the sky was pushed up to its present height it was supported by certain plants which were known as *teve* (Amorphophallus). In Lavaka's account it is Maui Kisikisi who raises the sky, not Maui Atalanga. In the sequel concerning Tui Motuliki it is stated that he landed first at Tefisi in Hihifo, Tongatabu. "Tui Motuliki and his friends were the origin of the Haa Falefa," the attendants of the Tui Tonga. (173) (644)

Other tales about the Maui were related by a number of informants, but apparently all were based on the published Tongan versions with two exceptions that introduce new incidents. One told by Moli, of Lotofoa, Foa island, Haapai, attributes the sky-raising to Maui Motua instead of Maui Atalanga because his oven poker got jammed in the sky. This motive is reminiscent of Philippine tales in which the sky was said to be so low that a spear could not be plied (Ifugao), that men bumped their heads against it (Tagalog), and that a woman struck it with her rice pestle (Manobo).[24] 538 171

Moli's version of the sky-raising is as follows: 539

It is said that the sky was low in olden days. The elder Maui (Maui Motua) was preparing his earth oven. When he used his poker it got jammed in the sky. Then he reversed his poker and pushed up the sky until it was very high. They say the reason of the sky being black is because the end of Maui's oven stick was dirty.

An unpublished Maui episode was related by Silas, of Feletoa, Vavau, and recounts the origin of two islets in the Vavau group. The narrative follows:

Maui resided at Ngaunoho in Utungake island, Vavau group, and lived there with his wife and children. Every day he only walked around, and his wife and children wept. He at last inquired of them the reason of their tears. So his wife replied: "We are weeping because you always go away and leave us starving."

"Very well," said Maui, "I will go and plant something for us to eat." He went between Ngaunoho and Utungake and he started digging the soil there. He dug so hard that the land rocked and his children and his wife cried.

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[24] Dixon, R. B., The Mythology of all Races: Oceanic Mythology, p. 178, 1916, Marshall Jones Company, Boston. [113]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

TALES ABOUT THE TUI TONGA

A considerable number of tales relate to the Tui Tonga, or kings of 173
Tonga. Not only is the origin of the dynasty related, but there are also a 643
number of stories of the adventures and achievements of the various kings. 538
Despite the infrequent references to kings in some of the stories, the tales [128]
have been arranged so far as possible in chronological order, basing the arrangement on the list of thirty-nine kings (page 35). In some stories the king himself is not mentioned, but other characters in the story make clear the reign to which it refers. Thus in "The Narrative About Sangone," the Tui Tonga Tuitatui is not mentioned, but his half brother Fasiapule plays a prominent part in the tale.

The placing of the Tui Tonga tales between the Maui cycle and cos- 128
mogony, on the one hand, and the tales about various other gods, on 538
the other hand, perhaps requires a few words of justification, since many of the Tui Tonga tales do not transcend the realm of mortal experience.
But the fact that the first Tui Tonga is of semi-divine origin, being the [643]
son of one of the Tangaloa, makes this position the natural one, at least for the story of this one king. Inasmuch as the narrative does not cease with him, it appears that this is the best position in which to place all of the Tui Tonga stories.

In the following pages there are first given two general accounts of 128
the Tui Tonga, one furnished by Father Reiter, the other by the Rev. Jonathan Fonua. These two accounts are the same in general trend, but the first is the fuller. I present the second account because of the original Tongan text which seems well worth recording.

THE FIRST TUI TONGA[33] 539

There first appeared on the earth the human offspring of a worm or grub, and the head of the worm became Tui Tonga. His name was Kohai and he was the first Tui Tonga in the world. The descendants of the worm became very numerous.

A large casuarina[33a] tree grew on the island of Toonangakava, between the islands of Mataaho and Talakite in the lagoon of Tongatabu. This great casuarina tree reached to the sky, and a god came down from the sky by this great tree. This god was Tangaloa Eitumatupua.

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[33] This tale is a translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker of the original Tongan as related [113]
by Taufapulotu and Tongavalevale and published by Father Francis Reiter in the Catholic
magazine Koe Fafagu, vol. 5, pp. 6-12, 26-32, 41-48, 60-64, 1907. The arrangement of the ma- [128]
terial has been altered slightly in order to secure proper chronological sequence. The original Tongan accounts are under two headings: (1) Koe Tupuaga oe Tuitoga (pp. 6-12), by Taufapulotu; (2) Koe talanoa kihe g. Tuitoga, by Tongavalevale.

[33a] The casuarina is generally known in the Pacific islands as ironwood.

sii ongo matua, pea na pehe mai: "Ofa atu Ulukihelupe, folau a." Pea ilo leva e Hele, ko Ulukihelupe hono hingoa.

Pea folau mai o tau i he Langonga, ka nau taki mai ae taahine ki Ahofakasiu. Pea toutou hala ae Tui Tonga, i he fakaofoofa oe taahine. Pea fehui mai ae eiki kia Hele, "Kohai hono hingoa?" Pea tala ange e Hele: "Ko Ulukihelupe, he nae pehe mai e he ene matua: 'Pea folau a Ulukihelupe.'" Pea na nonofo ae eiki mo Ulukihelupe, pea feitama, pea faele koe tangata, koe uluaki alo ia o Takalaua; ko Kauulufonua.

cloth. Then they went on board and 539
the poor couple cried, and called to the 173
girl: "Love to you Ulukihelupe, sail 644
away." And Hele knew that Ulukihelupe was her name.

And they came and anchored at Langonga, and they led the maiden to
Ahofakasiu. And the Tui Tonga kept 539
missing (the drum which he was beat-
ing) because the maiden was so beau- 173
tiful. And the chief asked Hele, 644
"What is her name?" And Hele an-
swered: "It is Ulukihelupe, and her 643
parents said, 'And you sail away, Ulukihelupe.'" And they lived together, the chief and Ulukihelupe, and she became pregnant and gave birth to a son, who was Takalaua's first child, Kauulufonua.[49]

THE AVENGING OF THE MURDER OF TAKALAUA[50]

539

At the time of the assassination of Takalaua two of his sons were 173
nearly grown men. They were Kauulufonuafekai, the older, and Moung- 644
amotua, the younger.

At the time of their father's murder, the two youths were floating model canoes at the beach. A woman came to them and said: "The chief has expired." To this they replied: "That is something new, indeed." Because of their remark, the town at this place in Tongatabu is called Talafoou (To tell something new). The part of the beach where the youths swam their canoes is called Talafaite, because the woman who brought the message "sat down with her legs tucked under her (*faite* fashion) and told (*tala*) the news." The two youths at once ceased their canoe sailing and went ashore to learn exactly what had happened. They were informed that their father was really dead at the hands of two assassins, who were old men.

The murderers had fled, but the sons of the dead Tui Tonga set out in pursuit of them. They fought with the Tongatabu people who harbored the assassins and defeated them, but the two fugitives escaped to Haapai. The Tui Tonga's sons then proceeded to Haapai, but, after conquering the people who sheltered the assassins, they found that the pair had escaped to Vavau. There the Tui Tonga's sons fought and won, only to find that the assassins had again eluded them. The expedition then attacked Uea, but failed

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[49] Basil Thomson gives a charming version of this story together with the sequel which relates the slaying of Takalaua, the avenging of his death, and the appointment of the Tui Haatakalaua. The Diversions of a Prime Minister, pp. 294-305, William Blackwood and Sons, London and Edinburgh, 1894. [113]

[50] Told by Pakulu, of Faleloa, Foa island, Haapai.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

TALES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

538
773
823 Tales accounting for the location of certain islands are commonly current in Tonga today. A number of islands like Tanoa, mentioned in the preceding tale, are described as portions of other islands that have been removed by thievish gods and dropped in their present position. Certain rocks are said to be transformed people who usually made the transformation to escape a pursuer or because of chagrin over failure to accomplish an undertaking. Other islands are said to have been brought forth by a goddess.

171
[538]
[773] The episode of gods stealing the top of a mountain but dropping it upon the approach of dawn occurs also in the Society islands in reference to a rock near the island of Eimeo. The following paragraph[70] with Tongan names substituted would describe the episode as it repeatedly occurs in Tongan tales:

> "They entertain a high idea of the power of spirits. In the beautiful and romantic view of Taloo harbour the remarkable peaked mountain is said to be but a part of the original one. Some spirits from Ulietea had broken off the other half and were transporting it down the bay, in order to carry it away with them, but, being overtaken by the break of day, they were obliged to drop it near the mouth of the harbour, where it now stands conspicuous as a rock; for, like the elves and fairies of our ancestors, these spirits walk and work by night."

539

THE ORIGIN OF ISLANDS

THE ORIGIN OF TANOA ISLAND[71]

This story is about the little island of Tanoa which was formerly situated in the middle of the lagoon of Nomuka and which a god named Haelefeke, from the Otutolu islands where he lived, came and stole from the middle of the lagoon.

He started to take it to the Otutolu, but as he came opposite Fonoifua island, Tafakula went and turned his anus from the direction from which the sun rises. When Haelefeke saw the light from Tafakula's anus in the east, he thought the sun was rising and dropped the island and ran away. That is how the little island of Tanoa comes to be standing beside Fonoifua.

For another version of this tale see pages 86 and 87.

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[113]

[70] A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship Duff, commanded by Captain James Wilson, page 335, 1799, London.

[71] Told by John Hafoka, of Nomuka island, Haapai.

A very brief third version was obtained in connection with the place named Fungakupolu, which is applied to a tract and a cave near Nukuhitulu, Tongatabu. The account is as follows: In the cave the mullet originally lived. The cave was owned by an old couple who ate only mullet and never any other food. No one else knew of the cave and the secret food supply. But at last it was discovered and soon everyone was helping himself. In their anger the old couple chased the fish away from their cave and the ocean was soon filled with mullet. Since then there have been mullet all over the world.

KOE FUA: KOE LAVE MEI METEVAE	THE CONSEQUENCE: THE CHANT OF METEVAE[76]
Fanongo mai e loto matala,	Listen you of enlightened minds,
Kau ai talanoa ki he fanga.	While I tell you a tale of the shore.
He fine nonofo a Ila mo Hava,	Two women that dwelt together Ila and Hava,
Ne unoho mo Naaanamoana.	They were wives of Naaanamoana.
Nonofo nonofo pea keanga,	They dwelt together then quarrelled,
He mea mamahi koe fuaa.	What a sorrowful thing is jealousy.
Ala!	Dear!
Pea fai ena haihai ama,	They tied their torches together,
Ke na o he fakangofua fanga.	At the annulment of the tabu of the shores.
Hiki hake pea taki taha hala;	Each lifted her torch and went her own road;
Pea alu a Ila he loto fanga.	And went Ila to the middle of the anchorage.
Pea alu a Hava he au tafa,	And went Hava arriving at a crevice,
Pea hau leva ia o tatala,	And she came and opened it,
O lau eia ha avai paka;	She thought that it was a crab hole;
Sio hifo ki he ika ene nganga;	Looking down she saw the fish gaping;
Omi ene kato pea fakamanga,	She brought her basket and opened wide,
O fili ki ai e ika kakafa,	And selected the large fish,
Pea hiki hake ene efihanga;	And she lifted up her load;
Fie moumau ki he ohoana.	Wishing to have something to take her husband.
Ka ko Veiueniatafanga,	This was at Veiueniatafanga,
Nae ai e vai moe ana.	There was water and a cave.
Ala!	Dear!.
Pea alu a Ila i he loto tahi;	And Ila went in the middle of the sea;
Ka ka alu a Hava i he tafaaki,	While Hava went along the beach,
Pea mei tamatei ene afi,	And nearly out was her torch,
Ka ka foki ki miu o eteaki.	When she turned back and was careful.
Pea hau leva ia o tangaki,	And then she Ila came and opened the hole,
Omi ene kato pea fakatali,	And brought her basket and held it up,
O fili ki ai e ika lalahi,	And placed in it the big fish,
Pea fai mo ene taliaki:	When done then she said:
"Hau koe ika o alu ki tahi,	"Come fish and go into the sea,
He mea mamahi e uakai!"	It is grievous to be greedy!"
Ala!	Dear!

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[76] From Koe Makasini a Koliji, Vol. 2, pp. 156-158, 1875. Translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker.

THE ORIGIN OF A ROCK NEAR TUNGUA ISLAND[81]

There was once a Tungua girl who became pregnant. When her parents asked her about the matter, she said that she knew nothing of the cause and that she had been visited by no man. After the child was born the people of Tungua said: "The father of the child must have come from Pulotu (the world of the departed)."

As the boy grew up he proved mischievous and incorrigible. The people of Tungua finally made up their minds to be rid of him. They put him in a canoe and pushed the canoe into the breakers. The canoe was swamped and overturned and the boy sank. Next day, when the people came to the beach, they saw a tall rock projecting above the waters where the boy sank.

THE ORIGIN OF THE REEF MATAHINA[82]

There was a man and his wife living in the tract called Papatai (Scattered reefs at sea). The name of the man was Maungakoloa (Source of wealth), and of the woman Tamatangikai (Child crying for food). They had three children, a girl Hina, and two boys, Ngatai (Seawards) and Fanua (Landwards). Maungakoloa and his two sons went out fishing and caught a little shark (*anga*), and brought it ashore to keep for Hina. The girl was overjoyed at receiving the fish. She took and put it in the water called Vahine in Tuanekivale (in Vavau), and tended it there. She used to call it with a piece of board and cocoanut shells. When the board was rattled and the cocoanut shells shaken the fish used to come for its food. In course of time the shark grew big in the water, but it one day happened that the sea rose high and overflowed the pool and the shark escaped to the open sea.

And when they went to see it it had disappeared. They sought it, but found no trace of it. Hina was inconsolable in the loss of her fish, and her father said to get a boat and for the three of them, Hina and her two parents, to go out to sea to seek it. They searched long, and at last discovered it far out in the open ocean. The board was struck and the cocoanut shells rattled and the shark came, but went away again. Hina thereupon told her parents to return to shore, but that she would stay and become a reef in that spot, so that her pet might come to her. "I cannot possibly go away and leave it here. You return, and I'll stay." Hina at once jumped into the sea, and the man and his wife set out on their return, but as they were paddling along they said to each other, "What a pair of fools

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[81] Recorded by F. T. Goedicke, of Lotofoa, Foa Island, Haapai.

[82] Translated by E. E. V. Collocott from the original Tongan as written by T. Tongamohenoa and published in Koe Makasini a'Koliji, volume 7, pp. 38, 39, 1889.

STORIES ABOUT MUNI

539 The tale of Munimatamahae (Muni-of-the-torn-eye) is one of the most popular of the extant Tongan tales, being widely current in Haapai, the central province of the kingdom and the scene of much of the story.

124 I heard the tale from thirteen persons. In addition the tale has been
113 published twice in verse and twice in prose in the Tongan magazines of the Methodist and Catholic churches. The tale has also appeared in
114 Folk Lore[88], translated into English by the Reverend G. Brown, whose version is based on the Tongan poem and explanation appearing in the Methodist magazine.

128 I reproduce here the Catholic poem and the Methodist poem and ex-
127 planation in Tongan accompanied by a translation. In the notes which follow I have embodied the details of the accounts from twelve living Tongans, insofar as they differ from the account published in Folk-Lore and those published herewith.

539 Several accounts specify that Muni's mother was sitting either on the starboard or the port side of the vessel when she was seized and killed. In some accounts it is stated that the chief of the vessel ordered that a "root" be struck off from the port (or starboard) side. The position of the vessel at the time that the woman was murdered is in some versions specified as near Luangahu island. One account states that the vessel was between Nomuka and Lekeleka islands in the southern portion of the Haapai group.

Four versions state that the chief of the vessel was the Tui Tonga himself, who was on his way to Vavau or Samoa. In one of these four he is specifically called Tuitatui, who was the eleventh traditional Tui Tonga. In another he is called the Tui Tonga from Tukutonga, a place two or three miles east of Nukualofa, Tongatabu island.

A version of the story by John Tupou, of Nukualofa, Tongatabu, gives the name of Muni's mother as Tetele.

The beach on Lofanga where Muni was cast ashore is called Pake in one version, Siumalu in another, and Muni in the Catholic prose version.

The fishing expedition on which an attempt was made to get rid of Muni by scuttling the boat on which he went to sleep is variously stated as being to Nukupule island or Niniva island, neither far distant from Lofanga. In one version only is the scuttling of the boat attributed to Muni's foster parents. In all others it is laid at the door of Muni's hostile fellow islanders.

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[88] Folk-Lore, vol. 27, pp. 426-430, 1916.

PUNGALOTOHOA AND MUNIMATAHAE[100]

This is a story about Pungalotohoa, who was a very strong man. This story refers to the time when a man named Munimatamahae was born. He was a strong man also. Pungalotohoa and Munimatamahae were two men who were just as strong as Maui Atalanga and Maui Kisikisi.

Pungalotohoa lived in Tonga (Tongatabu) with his tribe but he treated them very badly. He killed his people and beat the people of the land. He was a cannibal and that is the reason for his killing the people. He wanted to bake and eat them. Thus he scourged the people of the land of Tonga. Some of the people ran away to the bush and lived there, because they were afraid they would be taken and baked for Pungalotohoa to eat. He took many women and kept them in his enclosure for his wives. He had a great many wives and concubines.

After a while Pungalotohoa learned of a man in the Hihifo district in Tonga (Tongatabu) who was brave but not very strong. When Pungalotohoa heard of him, he decided to go and watch and kill him. The man's name was Motukuveevalu.

Motukuveevalu was afraid that Pungalotohoa would kill him, so he ran away to the bush and lived there. Pungalotohoa was a bad man and had no love in him. Pungalotohoa was very angry, when he found that Motukuveevalu had escaped him.

Pungalotohoa dwelt with his wives. He had a very large kava plant, as big as a tree, growing in his enclosure, and on the kava roosted flying foxes. One of the flying foxes was white and that one was clever. It did what Pungalotohoa told it to do, because it was fed by the master himself. Its name was Pekatea (White flying fox).

After a time Pungalotohoa prepared to leave on a boat to go to Haapai. The brave man named Motukuveevalu, who lived in the bush because he was afraid of Pungalotohoa, heard that there was a boat preparing to sail for Haapai. So he told his wife who was expecting a child, to go by the boat to Haapai. He said: "Go to Haapai by the boat and, when your child is born, your relatives will take care of you until you are both strong again. Meanwhile I'll stay in Tonga in the bush, because Pungalotohoa might find us and kill us all. I will stay by myself while you go." So the wife of Motukuveevalu went, and he gave her two yams to eat on the voyage, as she was pregnant.

She went in the boat as far as Haapai and passed Haapai and the boat went in between other islands. The woman still had her two yams.

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[100] Translation by Miss Georgina Sutherland, of the original Tongan tale as told by Tongavalevale and printed in the Catholic magazine Koe Fafagu, volume 7, pp. 16-20, 31-36, 49-52, 66-68, 1909.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 broke the gate, uprooted the kava and took it with him. He said that when you came home you might seek him so as to drink the kava with him."

Pungalotohoa ran after Muni for he was very angry with him. He overtook him on the road and they talked there. Pungalotohoa asked Munimatamahae: "Why have you uprooted my kava and broken my gate? What can you do?"

Munimatamahae answered: "You please yourself as to what we do." So Pungalotohoa said: "Come, see who can throw the farthest." Munimatamahae said: "You throw first." So Pungalotohoa threw and broke the trees and landed at Haapunga. Then that part of the land was called Haapunga (*haa*, clan; *punga*, coral). Thereupon Munimatamahae threw and broke coconuts and all kinds of trees and landed on a tract called Hikunise. Pungalotohoa was outdone.

Then Pungalotohoa said, "Come let us box," and Munimatamahae replied, "All right, please yourself as to what we do." So they started boxing. Pungalotohoa seized Munimatamahae and threw him in the air. When he came down his foot was sore, but he did not fall flat on the ground. Then Munimatamahae seized Pungalotohoa and threw him in the air, and threw him on the ground. Pungalotohoa's bones were all broken by his fall and his body was completely crushed. Pungalotohoa died, but after a little while came to life again. However, he was beaten and Munimatamahae had won.

Then Pungalotohoa said to Muni: "Munimatamahae, I have no plantation to give you, but here is the land of Tonga for you. You can also have my wives, while I stay out of the land because I am beaten. You can be chief, while I will be just *punga* (coral). I will be *punga* on shore and *punga* in the sea." Thus it was with Pungalotohoa who became the stone called *punga*.

Then Muni came away, and built a large house and brought his father to live in it, instead of in the bush. Munimatamahae called upon all the people who stayed in the bush to assemble in the cave where Pungalotohoa used to kill and roast people. Thus Muni gathered all the people who were left. He conquered and loved the people.

KO MUNI MATAMAHAE: KO HIVA A VEEHALA	MUNI-OF-THE-TORN-EYE: THE SONG OF VEEHALA[101]
Ke fanongo mai e tama mau,	Listen to me, oh poet,
Kau lave kia Muni mau hau.	While I sing about Muni the conqueror.
He tangata koia e sii fau,	The man who was not little,
Koe potu hono fakakaukau,	(In) his wisdom and ideas,
Heiilo pe tuku a Loau.	Even Loau would not surpass him.
Tupa!	Clap!

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[113] [101] From Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton's Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 2, pp. 135-137, 1875. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

539

ngutu o hae ua, pea ne ilo ai, ta kuo keina ene Fisi. Pea foki ia ki vaka kuo mamahi, o ne veteange o tokoto aipe ke mate: pea tekina o talu ai.

seized it by the mouth and tore it in two, because it had eaten his Fijian. And he returned on board very sad, and he unmoored the canoe and lay down to die: and since then he has been drifting.

KOE LAVE O MUNIMATAMAHAE

Alu e vaka pea po taha,
Pea hokosia a Fahamofaha,

Pea nau to tefito i ama.
Omi ai e fefine o tafa.

Ta nae alu nae feitama,

Li ai Muni he loto moana.
Hao ai tae kai e ha anga,
Kaka tafea hifo ki Lofanga.
Hifo mai e unoho ena ama.

Oku lili foki ihe funga maka;

Oku tosi pe kiu hono mata.
Ave ai o ohi ena tama,
Ohiohi pea tupu kafakafa;
Maumau hono mata tangata,
Ka kuo mahae e mata e taha.
Pongipongi nofo mai e tangata
Koe tala fatongia ki Lofanga:
"Ko hotau alafolau e langa
Pea au hono faahi e taha."
Pongipongi fesi e niu kakafa,
Taaki e koka fale mei hala,
Pea langa pehe he aho e taha.
Oku ita nai hono tekakava;

Ongo matua pei mo omai,
O tala mai haaku tamai
Keu alu au o kumi ki ai."
Koe Fisi pe naa na omai;
Tau i Telio pea hifo mai;
Fai e taula peą tala mai:
"Ta koe funga maka e mea ni."
Hopo ai Muni o ne vili taki,
A ene ava he matatahi.
"Ka puna ha kiu pea ke vakai,
Koe hala ia ki homou api."
"Ala Motuku, ke ke a mai
O fakaui hotau kakai;
Ka toe ha taha pea omai,
Kau alu o eva i hala lahi
Pea kumi ai taha ke ma fai;
Alu ki Hahake ene langovaka."
Ka oku aalo i Halakakala;

THE CHANT OF MUNI-OF-THE-TORN-EYE[108]

A vessel sailed and was one night out,
And came to pass by the reef Fahamofaha,
And there was no food aboard.
Then they brought a woman and cut her up.
When she went aboard she was pregnant,
And they threw Muni into the ocean.
Escaped being eaten by a shark,
And drifted down to Lofanga island.
Down came a man and his wife torch-fishing.
(Muni) was thrown upon the base of a rock;
A plover had pecked his eye.
They took and adopted him as their son,
Cared for and he grew big;
Spoilt was his man face,
As one eye was torn.
One morning came a man
To tell of compulsory work to Lofanga:
"A boat house to be built
And you are to build one side."
In the morning cut down a big coconut,
Cut it down for a house near the road,
And built like this in one day.
"Angry as though it was you that was hot;
Well, come you two people,
And tell me who my father is
For me to go and seek him."
He took a Fijian with him;
Anchored at Telio and went ashore;
Put down the mooring stake and said:
"Why this surface is stone."
Jumped on it Muni and bored a hole,
And he took it on shore.
"When a plover flies watch,
(For) that is the road to your home."
"Dear Motuku, wake up
And call our people;
Bring any that are left,
While I go for a walk on the big road
To seek some one for me to wrestle;
Go to Hahake to fight the conqueror."
But was paddling he at the reef Halakakala;

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[108] Reprinted from the original Tongan as published in the Catholic magazine Koe Fafagu, vol. 4, pp. [146, 147], 1906. The pages are unnumbered and follow the list of titles at the end of the volume. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

[113]

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE ADVENTURES OF LONGOPOA AND KAE[104]

In addition to the versions of the adventures of Longopoa and Kae 539
published herewith, two other versions were obtained, one from Sakalaiia [124]
Vao of Felemea, Uiha, Haapai, and the other from Josiah Paluto, of
Pangai, Lifuka, Haapai. These versions differ but slightly from those [128]
which I reproduce. The differences are set forth below.

Vao's story characterizes Loau as the Tui Tonga and states that he had two residences in Tongatabu, Fualu near Pea and Fonuamotu in Mua. The vessel that Loau sailed in is called a *tongiaki,* which is the ancient type of double canoe. The statement in John Tupou's version that Loau sailed in a *kalia* (the double canoe introduced from Fiji) is an anachronism. Loau's vessel, in Vao's version, approaches a reef on which are a pandanus and a great rock. Loau ordered his crew to go on to the reef. As the vessel touched, two men leaped ashore, Longopoa into the pandanus tree and Kae on to the great rock. The vessel with all aboard plunged to the bottom of the sea. Kae escaped from the island of the huge bird *kanivatu* by clinging to the feathers on the under side of one wing of the bird, instead of to the feathers on the leg or on the breast as in other versions.

Vao develops somewhat the initial conversation between Sinilau and Kae, making the former apologize for the poverty of his really prosperous community and the latter tell of the fate of Loau's expedition to the edge of the world. According to Vao's version, upon Kae's departure, Sinilau instructed him to go with the twin whales to the weather shore of Tongatabu, but Kae disobeyed and went to the lee shore. Kae was requested to send back some turmeric and in addition the articles enumerated in the other versions. The ingratitude of Kae is magnified in Vao's version by putting in his mouth the following words about Sinilau's rooster which he heard crowing at dawn: "At daylight I shall kill and eat that rooster for he crows like Sinilau's rooster." At daylight, however, Kae saw that he was in truth back in Sinilau's house, so he sat humbly with bowed head and felt very sorry for his misdeeds. Soon Sinilau entered and upbraided him, and finished by giving Kae to his followers, who took him outside and killed and ate him.

Paluto's version dwells upon the mockery of Loau's people over the farewells that were said preparatory to the make-believe voyages indulged in by Loau upon the surface of the artificial pool in Haamea in Tongatabu. Finally the remarks reached Loau's ears and he resolved to take the scoffers on a real voyage to the horizon. Fiji is mentioned as one of the

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[104] An English version of this tale appears in Folk-Lore, vol. 28, pp. 94-99, 1917, signed by [113]
the Reverend G. Brown.

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As Longopoa went his way, he forgot the instructions of the *puko* tree to first plant the branch before greeting his family. Instead he went first to greet his relatives. As day dawned Longopoa remembered the branch and hastened to plant it, but it was then too late. This is the reason why the *puko* tree today does not produce food, as did the *puko* tree of old. It is because Longopoa failed to obey the instructions of the ancient *puko* tree.

[824]

KOE FOLAU A KAE	THE VOYAGE OF KAE[106]
Vaka ne fau i Haamea,	Vessel was built in Haamea,
Fai la uta pea fakaheka;	Hoisted sail inland and loaded;
He vaka ne hai uta ki he lepa.	The vessel that took cargo in a pool.
"He fonua koeni e fakahela,	"This land is tiresome.
Taki taha ngaohi haane mea	Let each person prepare his own things
Ka tau folau ki he puko lea;	For us to voyage to the talking *puko* tree;
Tuku Tongatapu ka tau lelea."	Leave Tongatabu and run before the wind."
Tupa!	Clap![107]
Haapai e ka fotuaki,	Haapai was sighted,
Vavau e ka fotuaki,	Vavau was sighted,
Fai mai e tala a toutai.	Reported the navigators.
Kalo mai pe Loau, "Ikai,	Shook the head Loau, "No,
Koe loi e tuunga toutai.	The lies of the navigators.
Tau ave e kainga ni,	Let us take these friends,
Ke tuku ki tafatafaakilangi."	And leave (them) at the horizon."
Tupa!	Clap!
Pea uli hifo honau vaka;	And steered down their vessel;
Pea hokosia e tahi tea,	And arrived at the white sea,
Pea moe tahi fuofuanga,	And the floating pumice sea,
Moe tahi pupulu nae tala.	And the slimy sea that was foretold,
"Tutuu ki tahi mo eua!	"Stand to sea and ward off!
Koeha hoomou tangi na?	Why are you crying?
Ka ikai ko honau kaka	Is it not the treachery of the navigators
Pea tau mole fua ai a!"	Whereby we will all be lost!"
Tupa!	Clap!
Fokihanga folau e fuu fa;	Turning place of voyagers is the great pandanus tree;
Pea fihi ai honau fana.	There became entangled their mast.
Longopoa mo Kae e kaka;	Longopoa and Kae climbed;
Ne na feohofi ki hono vaa,	They swarmed into its branches,
Pea na tekena ai o ata.	And they pushed the vessel free.
Mole ai i he langi nae ava,	It was lost through the sky opening,
Koe potu fonua oe vava;	Into the land of space;
Koe moleanga ia oe vaka.	That was the cause of the loss of the vessel.
Tupa!	Clap!
Longopoa mo Kae, ongo otua,	Longopoa and Kae, two gods,
Ha ongo siana koia e ula,	Those two men were clever,
Kuo malie ena fakauta.	Well done was their meditation.

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[106] Reprinted from the original Tongan recitative as it appears in the Rev. Dr. J. E. Moulton's Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 3, pp. 58-61, 1876. Translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

[107] Each verse terminates with the word "tupa," which means "clap" and is the signal for the accompanists to beat with sticks on a mat.

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ngahi fonua koia. Oku ui fakatonga ko Fehuluni; oku ui fakahaamoa ko Moso; pea taha kehe hono ui i Fisi; ka ko Tui Haatala ia.

Samoa, and from there he went to Fiji. 539 And he is seen at these islands, but he is never seen at Eua. And he is called by different names in the various islands. He is called by the Tongans Fehuluni (To move about); and he is called by the Samoans Moso; and he is called by another name in Fiji; but he is still Tui Haatala.

Ko enau tamai koe Tui Haatala, pea koia nae uluaki mahaki mo enau fae, pea toki matemate taha ki mui hange koia kuo osi talanoa ki ai.

His father was Tui Haatala, and he and their mother were the first to die, and then they (his brothers) died one after the other as has been stated.

Pea koe mokopuna tokua o Hikuleo ae fanau koia, pea talu ai moe ikai ke toe i ai ha Tui Haatala, ngata i he tangata nae alu ki Pulotu. Koe anga fihi o enau mate, ka mate e pea fakanofo e, pea mate ia pea hoko leva e. Naa nau pehe pe. Pea koe Tui Haatala nae alu ki Pulotu nae ngata ai. He kuo alu kuo osi fakanofo, pea nae ikai tokua ke toe fakanofo ha taha; ko ene alu pe tae mate pea te ne toe foki mai. Pea faingataa ke too mai he kuo ne foki mai ka kuo ikai lava ke tangata, he kuo tanu hono angaanga. Koia nae talu aipe.

And they were the grandchildren of Hikuleo, and since then there has been no more Tui Haatala, the man that went to Pulotu was the last one. The way of their death was perplexing, one died and another was appointed, and he died and another was appointed. They were just like that. And the Tui Haatala that went to Pulotu was the last. When he went he was already appointed, and it is said that none were appointed after him; he went without dying and was to return. And it was difficult (for another) to take (his title), because he had returned but was unable to become a man because his body had been buried. And it has been so ever since.

Pea oku i ai foki haane ngahi mea fakaeonoaho; ko hono lahe koe fuu maka, aia ko ete foa ia o te navu oku hange ha lahe kuo tao.

And there are also some things about [823] by-gone days, his (hair) lime is a big stone, which if chipped and made into a hair wash is like cooked lime.

THE BOAT THAT WENT TO PULOTU[109]

This is the story of the gods that went to Pulotu (the unseen world, the land of the departed) in a boat. There was one god whose name was Haveatoke (Slippery Eel), another whose name was Fakafuumaka (Like-a-Big Stone), another whose name was Haelefeke (Octopus-Comes, or Walking-Octopus), and the last one's name was Lohi (Lie). These four embarked in their boat and paddled away with the intention of journeying to Pulotu.

As they were passing a part of the coast not far from their starting point a goddess named Faimalie (Take-Care or Perform-Fortunately) was standing on the beach. She called to them: "Why are you coming here and where are you going?" The gods in the boat told her that they were going to Pulotu. Then the goddess cried: "Come here and we will all go together."

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[109] Translated from the tale as published in Tongan in the Catholic magazine Koe Fafagu, volume 4, pages 48-53, 65-68, 73-76, 86-88, 98-100, 1906. The recorder of this tale was Father Franciscus Roulleaux Dubignon; the raconteur was Tongavalevale; the Tongan title of the tale is "Koe Talanoa kihe Vaka nae alu ki Pulotu." Translated by Mr. W. H. Murley. [113]

ent sorts of yams and in giving birth leaned her back against a tree known as the *masikoka*. The place was called "The Resting Place."

This is the conclusion of the tale of the boat belonging to the gods called Haveatoke, Fakafuumaka, Haelefeke, and Lohi. The vessel came from Eua and went to Pulotu. Only four were going, but an old woman stood on the beach at the end of the island. It was she who called to the boat that there might be five persons to go to Pulotu. This is the end of the tale of the gods that went to Pulotu, their challenge, and their strength, and of the overcoming of Hikuleo and all the people of Pulotu.

KO FAIMALIE: KOE LAVE A MOHULAMU.	FAIMALIE: THE CHANT OF MOHULAMU[39]
Amusia a Tepa, koe mau;	I envy the Tepa, it was a poem;
Nae lave ki Pulotu Tuumau.	It was a chant about Pulotu Tuumau.
Ha fonua e ongolelei fau!	A land of great renown!
Tupa!	Clap!
Tuu e taalo mei Haatafu	Stood and beckoned from Haatafu
"Fakafumaka, keu hu atu,	"Fakafumaka, let me enter,
Ke ke hau mua ta o folau	For you to come for us to voyage
O mamata ki Pulotu atu fau.	To go and look at Pulotu.
Ha fonua e ongo hohaa fau!"	A land the fame of which makes restless!"
Tupa!	Clap!
Tuu e taalo i Muifonua.	Stands and beckons at Land's End.
"Ala e, pale mai mua."	"Oh dear, do paddle here."
"Pale atu, ke ta o kitaua,	"Paddle on, you and I will go,
Pe alu ki fe moe fakalua."	Where does shé want to go and be seasick."
Tupa!	Clap!
Pea tuku e vaka mei Nuku,	And the canoe left Nuku,
Ko honau oho e niu motuu,	Their provisions old nuts,
Ko hono tata e ngeesi kuku.	And its bail a shell of the kuku shell-fish.
Tuu e taalo mei Muikuku	Stood and beckoned from Muikuku
"Pale atu, ala, ko Vakafuhu,	"Paddle on, dear Vakafuhu
Ha finemotua ka mata pauu!"	It is the old woman mischievous!"
Tupa!	Clap!
Pea fai enau fetapaaki	And they said their salutations
"Fakafumaka, ala, ko Fai."	"Fakafumaka, dear, it is Fai."
"E, ta ko koe, pei lea mai."	"Why is it you, well speak to me."
"Pe ko futu sieku viku i tahi.	"For how long have I been wet by the sea.
Ko ena e vaa fau too mai!"	There is a branch of the fau tree which bring!"
Talu ai ene hekeheka ai,	After that she sat on it,
O kiato tolu ae vaka ni	And this canoe had three sticks to the outrigger
Ka nae kiato ua a Tonga ni.	But Tonga had only two sticks to the outrigger.
Tupa!	Clap!

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[39] Reprinted from the original Tongan as published in the Reverend Dr. J. E. Moulton's magazine Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 3, pp. 39-42, 1876. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

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TALES ABOUT PASIKOLE, THE SAMOAN

114 In presenting the story of Pasikole, the Samoan, the Rev. G. Brown[139] has published an English translation of the same text used in Miss Baker's 539 translation, immediately following. It is interesting to note in a version recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley that the initiative in the two principal episodes is transferred from Pasikole to the deities; furthermore, that a natural phenomenon is explained by the continued presence of the two deities in the sea. In Mr. Murley's version there is no hint as to the sex of the two deities nor of their infatuation for the fair-haired Pasikole.

KO PASIKOLE: KOE HIVA A TANGATAILOA	PASIKOLE: THE SONG OF TANGATAILOA[140]
Ke fanongo mai ae tama lave, Kau lave kia Pasikole. Koe tangata ne tupu i fe? Oku mou sanoe aipe. Tupa!	Listen to me O poet, While I sing to you about Pasikole. A man that originated where? You do not know. Clap!
Koe tangata mei Akana, Oku mou filia hono tala. Lau pe ha otua pe ha mama, I heene anga oku fitaa. Tupa!	He was a man from Akana, Do you choose how it is to be told. Some say (he was) a god; others, a man, His ways were unsubdued. Clap!
Ko Pasikole anga fitaa, Ne ikai te ne ave ha mama: Ka ka ave a Sisi mo Faingaa. Faofao i he kato mosikaka, Pea tautau he puko he hala;	Pasikole whose ways were unsubdued, He did not take a human being: But he took Sisi and Faingaa, Put them in a coconut-leaf basket, And hung them in the puko tree by the road;
Toki popo e kato pea ngangana. Tupa!	When the basket rotted they fell out. Clap!
"Sisi mo Faingaa moomai; Lalanga ni polopola ke lalahi Pea mo omai o haheka ai. Malo pe e hanga ki langi, O mamata he ao fetolonaki!" Tupa!	"Sisi and Faingaa, you two come; Plait large baskets of nut leaves And then come and sit inside. Well done your gazing at the sky, Looking at the clouds moving by!" Clap!
Ko Pasikole e tama e ula, Ne ne haamoi e otua, O ave o tuku he maolunga; Pea toki utu e tau e ua, Pea na ngangana hifo kinaua. Fisipa, Haamoa mo Niua, Heena fekei moe otua. Tupa!	Pasikole was the clever lad, He carried suspended two goddesses, And took and left on the highland; After the harvest of two years, Then they fell down. Filliped (the fingers), Samoa and Niua, When they quarrelled with the gods. Clap!

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[113] [139] Brown, G., Folk-Lore, volume 27, pages 430-432, 1916.

[113] [140] From Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 2, pp. 96, 97, 1875. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker. Tangatailoa means "the known man."

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MISCELLANEOUS STORIES

TANGALOA AND THE CARPENTERS[181a]

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There was a god named Tangaloa, who came down from heaven in ancient times. He brought a son with him. After sojourning awhile in Tonga they went over to Fiji. There they built a strong fort for themselves. It was so strong that none could enter there without its occupants' consent.

The Fijians were jealous of these carpenters and came and fought them. They tried and tried to take the fort, but without success. One day, one of the gods of Fiji came down and told the Fijians to let him fight for them against the god Tangaloa and his carpenters. This Fijian god commanded the rain to pour down. The rain came down very hard on the carpenters' fort. The wooden wall, which the carpenters had built round the fort, was water tight. It excluded the water, and after many hours of downpour the fort floated. The carpenters were thus scattered to all parts of the world. For this reason you are now likely to find carpenters in any part of the world, wherever you may go.

THE GIRL, THE SAMOAN, AND THE CAT[182]

There were once a king and a queen. In course of time the queen became pregnant and gave birth to a most beautiful girl baby who was called Sun. As the girl matured she was kept in a house with ten enclosures. She also had a house in the deep ocean. In the daytime she was taken to her house on shore and at night to her dwelling in the ocean. She was taken back and forth, so that no man should know where she was.

Time went on and a man in Samoa heard about her. His name was Moon. He prepared to seek the girl together with his cat. Together they journeyed until they reached the end of Samoa. There he stood, complaining thus: "What a pity Samoa ends here, for I will not be able to go and see the girl that I have heard about." His cat then told him to get on its back and they would go and see the girl in spite of having reached the end of the land. The man was in doubt and asked his cat: "Will you be able?" The cat answered: "Let us go and fulfill our wish." So they swam on and on until they reached a sunken reef. That was the girl's abode.

They dived down to the girl's residence, but as it was day when they arrived, she was on shore. The Samoan went to sleep. When night

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[181a] Told by David Tapueluelu, mayor of Neiafu, Vavau.

[182] Told by Utuvai, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai. Probably adapted from Richard Whittington's cat, published in Tongan, in Koe Makasini a Koliji.

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Tales and Poems of Tonga

By E. E. V. Collocott

PREFACE

The aim of this book is to allow the Tongan to interpret himself through 121
the mouths of his story-tellers and bards. The references given by Gifford 113
(22)[1] will guide the curious to other publications wherein further compositions and traditions may be found. Most of the known myths and traditions 114
of legendary and historically great personages already have been published.
This collection consists largely of more homely pieces. 121

A well-known ethnologist, who has done notable work in widely separated Polynesian islands once remarked that, although it might seem to lay 000
him open to the suspicion of being somewhat lacking in scientific interest,
yet his great concern was not for the past but for the future of these
peoples. My own labors have been in missionary and educational under- [114]
takings, which aim at shaping the present so as to secure a happy and worthy
future. Missionary, educational, and governmental work must be guided
by sympathetic understanding of the people among whom it is undertaken.
It is hoped that this collection will add something to the intimacy of self- 121
revelation of a Polynesian people, and that there may be some gleanings for
the ethnologist. If I can do anything to quicken intelligent sympathy of white people for the brown races of the Pacific, and to stimulate the confidence that these peoples are possessed of intellectual and moral qualities that demand respect, and will enable them to make their fit contribution to the progress of the world, I shall have been well rewarded.

The Tongans, alone of Pacific peoples, have maintained an independent 642
native kingship under British protection and with white assistance. It were 177
to be wished that such a system of government were more widely employed
in the dealings of great nations with their more backward neighbors, who, indeed, have much to teach as well as to learn from the citizens of more powerful states. In Tonga there has been a very happy adaptation of native custom to the demands of modern constitutional rule, and to the
conditions of modern commerce. There is a happy, virile people, healthily [181]
proud of nationhood, and kindly disposed towards the foreigner who has not
cast down the native chiefs from their ancient rank.

Besides publications to which acknowledgments appear throughout the 114
work, I should mention my use of the dictionaries of Baker (2), Mission-

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to the Bibliography, page 168. The superior figures refer to notes pages 129-167.

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8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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121 pioneer missionary and explorer, who did much to make known
128 many islands of the Pacific. In the present compilation the
collection of "Idiomatical Phrases" in the Tongan Vocabulary
of the late Dr. Shirley Baker[1] has been included, as well as many
[114] expressions scattered throughout the body of that work. Valuable as Dr. Baker's work is, it is unfortunate that he has printed
whole phrases as single words, and without literal translations
or explanations. In almost every instance we have been able to
separate into their component words and explain these expressions,
but there is a small residuum that has not been elucidated by
inquiries made among the Tongans of today. Baker's work has
been in constant use, and we desire to acknowledge our general
indebtedness to it. In the few instances where we have not
been able to explain phrases published by him exact quotations
have been made.

ORTHOGRAPHY

104 In orthography we have followed what seemed to be the
easiest method for European readers. The nasalized *g*, written as *g*
in the various Pacific dialects, we have written as *ng*. The pronunciation of course is like that of *ng* in the English word singer,
and not like that in finger.

In Tonga itself animated discussion ranges around the letters
[777] *b* and *p*, two symbols which have had an unfortunate history. The
[212] Methodist missionaries, who first regularly reduced the language
to writing, used only *b*. The French Marists, who followed a
few years later, wrote *p*. Subsequently an effort was made by
Dr. Baker to combine the two. It is indubitable that there are
sounds which strike the ear as an English *b*, and others as an
English *p*, and yet others which it is extremely difficult for the
ear to distinguish certainly as the one or the other. But the attempt
to combine the two symbols has only introduced fresh confusion,
as the language does not seem to contain two systematized series of
[194] sounds, the one *b* and the other *p*. The Tongan ear finds the
greatest difficulty in distinguishing an English *b* from an English *p*.

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[113] [1] Baker, Rev. Shirley W., An English and Tongan vocabulary, also a Tongan and English vocabulary. Auckland, N. Z., 1897.

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128 ship, and fishing furnished many proverbs. Under some of the
[538] most important and interesting headings the number of expressions
is disappointingly small; but we have had to take the language
as we found it.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

000 We desire to express our thanks to those who have assisted us. We owe much to the Rev. R. C. G. Page and to Rev. A. M. Sanders of the Methodist Mission, to many of the Tongan staff of the Mission, and to Rev. C. P. W. Brown, now of New South Wales, but at one time connected with the Methodist Mission in Tonga. Mr. E. W. Gifford and Mr. W. C. McKern, who visited this group from August 1920 to May 1921 as members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of the Bishop Museum, have not only supplied such phrases as they met with in the course of their investigations, but have also assisted with friendly counsel. Our indebtedness to the Tongan Vocabulary of the late Rev. Dr. Shirley W. Baker, in which is incorporated the earlier Tongan Vocabulary of the late Rev. S. Rabone, has already been mentioned. We have
113 also derived considerable assistance from the Dictionnaire Toga-Français issued by the Marist Mission in Tonga (Paris, 1890), Pratt's Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language (Fourth Edition, Samoa, 1911), Dr. Augustin Krämer's Samoa-Inseln (Stuttgart, 1902 and 1903), and to a less extent from Hazelwood's Fijian Dictionary (second edition, edited by James Calvert, reprinted, London, 1914).

GARDEN AND FARM

539 1. **A fakaamu mei:** Waking wanting breadfruit.

578 Apparently mildly abusive of the people of Haapai, who are supposed
[262] to be not so well supplied with yams as are the people of Tongatabu, and
[103] accordingly are more dependent on the breadfruit and other plants. There
is an anchorage in the island of Lifuka in Haapai, very close to where the "Port-au-Prince" was attacked, if not the identical spot, called *Fakaamu-mei*, "Wanting breadfruit," said to owe its name to a chief who used to live in the vicinity, and who in some way became famous for wanting breadfruit.

DIVISIONS OF THE HEAVENS

The Tongan mariner divided the heavens into three areas or 821 zones, called *fanakenga*, a word which apparently means risings (compare Samoan *fana'e*, rising of tide and moon; Maori, *whanake*, to move onwards or upwards). These three divisions are named respectively: Fakatonga (southward), the southern zone; Faka-loto-langi (mid-sky), the mid-sky zone; Faka-tokelau (north- 502 ward), the northern zone. Guide stars were observed astern as well as ahead and the boat was kept in line with them. As the stars or constellations were probably used when at or near their meridians, different constellations were utilized at different seasons 821 of the year. In the following list the stars seem to be arranged in 502 the order in which they rise.

STARS OF THE SOUTHERN ZONE

1. **Houma-utu,** mentioned by Tukuaho as used at a time which corresponds to about March.
2. **Halla-toloa,** four stars (compare Samoan, *Saliatoloa*, the name of a certain star[1]).
3. **Toloa,** four stars.
4. **Lua-a-tangata,** two stars (compare Samoan, *Luatangata*, the name of two stars, Castor and Pollux).
5. **Moa-a-mahe,** one star (compare Samoan, *Moa*, the name of a moon in the wet season).

821 773 This completes the southern zone as given by Tukuaho. Of these stars and constellations Toloa is the Southern Cross. Toloa means a wild duck, and Tongan imagination pictures the Cross as a duck whose head is gamma and tail alpha, the wings being beta and delta. The wing delta being dimmer than its fellow is said to have been injured by a stone thrown by the Two Men, Ongo Tangata, alpha and beta Centauri. The stone itself, *Maka*, is epsilon in the Cross.

Although Tongan confirmation is lacking, I think it probable that the Two Men, which are missing from Tukuaho's list, are to be identified with Lua-a-tangata, sometimes called Lua-ae-tangata. In its present form this name would mean man's vomit, but prob-

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[113] [1] Pratt, George, Grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language, 4th ed., Samoa, 1911.

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

821 ably an older and more correct form is Lua-tangata, or Lua'i-
[773] tangata, two men. Lua, two, is not now found as a common
[802] numeral in Tongan, the ordinary form being ua, but *lua* is the numeral two in Samoan, and is found in Tongan in composition. Both Brown[2] and Pratt[3] give Lua-tangata as the Samoan name for Castor and Pollux, with Filo and Mea as the individual names of the two stars, but the presence of Lua-a-tangata in the southern zone and in close proximity to the Southern Cross in the Tongan list is against this identification for Tonga.

Other names for stars in the southern division are Tuutanga-ufi (piece of yam), and Mamangi Halahu, both of which appear to be variants for stars already mentioned, possibly for alpha Centauri, or according to other information for Moa-a-mahe. Tuutanga-ufi is the name used by the people of Ula, the chief sailor of the Tui Kanokupolu. Halahu is the name of a place in the high island of Eua near Tongatabu, where the species of yam called *mamangi* is supposed to flourish with exceptional luxuriance. This star was used in sailing from Fiji to Tonga.

[276] Still another name for Mamangi Halahu is Mau-kuo-mau, an
[579] expression meaning got (arrived at) when clear, and used of a person who arrives at a kava party when the beverage has been strained and is clean and ready for drinking. The people of the Haapai chief Tuita are said to use this name for the star.

The dark patch of sky near the left-hand end of the Southern Cross is called Humu, and is brought into close association with the Southern Cross, as for example in the verse, which in the absence of legend is not remarkably intelligible:

[539]

Humu moe Toloa	Humu and Toloa
To hono fuji pea vaoa;	Plant their plantain and overgrown with bush;
Pea lele mai kuli Fiji,	And Fiji dog runs hither,
Tali fanaia, hala he vae, tau he ate.	His reception is being shot, missed in the leg, hit in the liver.

Humu is the name of a fish. The Samoan word *sumu* is the name of fishes of the genus Ballistes, and also the name of a clus-

[113]

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[2] Brown, George, Melanesians and Polynesians, p. 348. London, 1910.

[3] Op. cit.

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821 ter of stars. Samoan legend states that the *sumu* (fish) and *toloa* (duck) were taken up to heaven and became signs.[4] Maafu-lele (running fire) and Maafu-toka (lying, stationary fire) are the names of two bright patches in the southern sky, either of nebulae, or, according to other information, portions of the Milky Way. Baker[5] applies these names to the small and great Magellanic clouds respectively. The Milky Way is called Kaniva (compare Samoan, *Aniva*).

STARS OF THE MID-SKY ZONE

1. **Faniu,** a single star.
2. **Majiji,**[6] a single star.
3. **Moenga-manu,** or **Mohenga-manu** (sleeping place of a bird, or animal), a thick cluster of stars.
4. **Mataliki,** the Pleiades—in all probability.
5. **Matamemea,** a single star. This word appears to mean ruddy and is given by Pratt as the Samoan name of Mars.
6. **Tuinga-lama,** three stars. This word, meaning a torch of candlenuts, appears to be Samoan rather than Tongan and is given both by Brown[7] and Pratt[8] as the Samoan name for an unidentified star.
7. **Faipa,** three stars.
8. **Alotolu,** three stars. Alotolu means a three-oared boat, or three in a boat, and is the name of a portion of the constellation of Orion. Tongan tradition asserts that Alotolu is the boat in which Hina went with her father, Maungakoloa, and her mother, Tamatangikai, in search of Hina's pet shark, which had escaped when the sea overflowed the pool where it was kept. Hina and her parents, as well as her two brothers, Ngatai and Fanua, were turned into various rocks and beaches in Vavau. Closely associated with Alotolu in Tonga is Tuinga-ika (string of fish), which is missing from Tukuaho's list. Both Tuinga-ika and Alotolu are parts of Orion, and it is possible that Tuinga-lama, which seems to be better known in Samoa than in Tonga, is identical with Tuinga-ika. 821 773
9. **Tolonga-Maui** (throwing of Maui ?), one star. 821
10. **Takulua-Alofi and Takulua-Tua-fanua,** two large stars which rise one in front (alofi) of Akana and the other at the back (tua) of the island.

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[4] Pratt, op. cit. See the word *sumu*.

[5] Baker, Rev. S. W., An English and Tongan and Tongan and English vocabulary, Auckland, 1897. [113]

[6] Throughout this paper I have adhered to the practice of writing *j* before *i*. In earlier Tongan the syllable *ji* had much the sound of English *tchi*, but is now indistinguishable from *si*. [104]

[7] Brown, op. cit., p. 349.

[8] Pratt, op. cit.

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THE MOON

There seems great probability that the theory which connects Hina with the moon, *mahina,* is correct. Tongan tradition associates Hina with the shark. A myth from Eueiki in Tonga asserts that Hina was an exceedingly beautiful girl, the daughter of the chief of Eueiki, and that one day while sporting in the breakers she was swallowed by a Samoan deity, who assumed the shape of a shark for the purpose. Possibly this myth is to be referred to the monthly disappearances of the moon. 821 773

The association of Hina with the Maui is also common throughout Polynesia. In Tongan myth a maiden Sinailele, living in Fiji, becomes pregnant by stepping over the bones of Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji, and thereby becomes the mother of Tui Motuliki.[10] Sinailele seems to be a Fijian modification of Hina, and the connection of Hina with the Maui may be a connection of the moon with the Underworld, parallel with the association of the sun with the Underworld.

There is a place at Matoto in Vavau which affords a fine outlook over the ocean and is famous as a spot at which to see the moon rise. This locality is named Mata-mahina-hopoanga, or Matanga-mahina-hopo, place of seeing moon rise. When parties repair thither they must make no noise and kindle no fire till the moon is fully above the horizon. As the moon appears over the ocean as though she were floating up from the depths of the sea, she is said to *kakau mai,* swim hither. When she is clear of the horizon and the onlookers are free of the tabu on noise it seems to be not unusual to raise cries of joy. The information I have been able to obtain about this custom is very scanty, but it is possible that details, if one could obtain them, would be full of interest. 821 [103]

There is a couplet referring to this moon-viewing site. [539]

Fine taumelo hake ki Matoto	Harbinger woman goes up to Matoto
Ko ene fie mamata he mahina hopo.	Because she wants to see the moon rise.

The moon, also the sun, in eclipse is termed by the Tongans *mate,* dead. In ancient times this phenomenon seems to have [113]

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[10] Folk-Lore, vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 53 ff., 1921.

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805 three generations since this happened" or "It occurred when my
father's father was a child."

A general word for long ago, ancient times, is *onoaho*, as *onoponi* is used for recent time, the present age. There are several expressions for remote antiquity, as, *Hau o Momo* (when Momo was king), *Hau o Tuitatui* (when Tuitatui was king), *Hau o Muni Matamahae* (when Muni of the Torn Eye was king), *Hau o Motuku Veevalu* (when Motuku Veevalu, literally Eight-legged, was king). There are of course other words meaning uncountable, long enduring, which may be used to express the same idea of remotest antiquity.

SEASONS AND MONTHS

The Tongan year is said to have begun at about the same time
as the Christian year, though no satisfactory explanation is given.
[171] Gill[11] states that the Mangaians begin their year about the middle
of December, the point of departure being marked by the appearance
of the Pleiades on the eastern horizon just after sunset. This or
some similar astronomical phenomenon may possibly have determined the beginning of the Tongan year.

[821] The two broad divisions of the year, in one of which the days
and nights are cooler than in the other, were recognized and used
[132] to classify seasons. Close observation of the habits of plants and
805 of animals provided a basis for more exact division. The times
824 when certain trees cast their leaves, flowered, or bore fruit were
825 utilized in making the calendar, as were also the periods when par-
805 ticular fish appeared. The greatest importance attaches to the
244 various stages of the growth of the yam. A large part of the
nomenclature of the moons is based on seasonal changes observed
in this plant.

The normal year consisted of twelve months, though some
805 years had thirteen. The nomenclature is largely agricultural, but
there seems no reason to doubt the statement that the names were
applied to the moons. The months and the commonly received
explanations of their names are as follows:

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[113] [11] Gill, W. W., Myths and songs from the South Pacific, p. 317, London, 1876.

A CONTRIBUTION TO TONGAN SOMATOLOGY

By LOUIS R. SULLIVAN

Based on the field studies of E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern

INTRODUCTION

THE somatological studies in Tonga followed the plan previously used for Samoa.[1] The field records were made by E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern, assisted by Delila S. Gifford and show evidence of unusual care and discrimination; the mathematical computations were prepared by my wife, Bessie P. Sullivan. By arrangement between the American Museum of Natural History and the Bishop Museum the analysis of the data and the preparation of the results for publication constitute my share of the work. 128

Mr. Gifford and Mr. McKern call attention to the assistance rendered by many individuals in Tonga and especially to the kindness shown by Their Majesties Queen Charlotte Tupou and Prince Consort William Tungi, who permitted themselves to be measured, thus graciously setting an example that was gladly followed by their loyal subjects. The Privy Council also greatly aided the expedition by instructing the Minister of Police, Mr. Job Koho, to provide the required number of persons for each day's examinations. 125 124

The material on which this paper is based consists of complete descriptions and measurements of 225 persons, 121 men and 104 women. Of these 10 were of mixed racial descent and their records were therefore discarded. Of the remaining 215, 184 were adults more than twenty years of age and 31 adolescents. The averages of non-quantitative descriptions are based on observations of young and old from the age of sixteen upward; the averages of all measurements except stature are based on measurements of persons of both sexes eighteen years old and upward. 128

By nativity the individuals examined are distributed as follows: Niuatoputapu 4; Niuafoou 1; Vavau group 25; Haapai group 40 (in detail, Haano 8, Nomuka 2, Uiha 4, Lifuka 6, other places 20); Tongatabu 148 (Nukualofa 47, other places 101); Eua 5; elsewhere 2. The material was not consciously selected and represents persons of all social classes and occupations. It may be regarded as a fair qualitative sample of the Tongan people.

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[1] Sullivan, L. A., A contribution to Samoan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. viii, No. 2. 1921. [113]

~~1st~~ [p.133]

11: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

128 of the lips is recorded as thin, medium, or thick. Prognathism, which in a living person is a complex and somewhat elusive character, is described as absent, slight, medium, or marked. In the ears the development of the lobes (small or large, attached or separate), the roll of the helix (rolled one-third, two-thirds, three-thirds, or flat), and the presence or absence of Darwin's tubercle were recorded.

Particular care was taken to record the form of the upper incisor teeth with a view to determining the presence or absence of the shovel-shaped incisors. Although primarily described by Hrdlicka[3] as shovel-shaped this condition of the incisor and other teeth has more recently been described by the same author as keilodonty and koilomorphy. As the fossa is dependent on the formation of the rim, it will be sufficiently clear and less cumbersome to discuss this condition in terms of rim development or keilodonty. In this paper classes of no rim, trace of rim, medium rim, and marked rim correspond to Hrdlicka's classes of no shovel, plain trace, semi-shovel, shovel-shaped. The condition is well described by Hrdlicka:[4] "The lingual surface of the well developed shovel-shaped incisor is very striking. The usual moderate concavity from above downward is replaced by a triangular to rounded or oblong deep fossa. The base of the fossa is formed by the free edge of the tooth, its summit reaches upwards near to the gum. The fossa is bounded laterally and generally also distally, hence on all sides by a stout rim of enamel."

DESCRIPTION OF THE TONGANS

The results of the seriation and averages are summarized in Tables I, II,
128 and III. In Table I we find a fairly normal distribution in all anthropometric
141 characters. The number of persons concerned in each character is so small that any departure from the normal cannot be regarded too seriously. Doubling the class interval is usually sufficient to smooth the curve. Even after doing this, however, the distribution of head length and face width present a somewhat skewed distribution. Indications of bimodality are also noticeable in the bigonial diameter, face height, and face index distribution. At present the significance or non-significance of these facts is not clear.

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[3] Hrdlicka, Ales, Shovel-shaped teeth: Am. Jour. of Phys. Anthr., vol. III, p. 429, 1920.

[4] Op. cit., p. 429.

121 of Mariner, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford, and other writers
177 on Tongan ethnology, however, the results of cultural change
178 and cultural stabilization will be implicit in all that is
described in these notes.[1]

Two further points may be noted here: First, all our
121 descriptions refer directly, unless otherwise mentioned, to
the culture of one commoner village, the village of Pangai. How typical this village is of other small villages throughout the Tongan kingdom we have no means of knowing directly, nor of stating with precision. We suspect however, that taken in very general terms, Pangai is fairly typical of other commoner villages where there is no high chief or noble in residence and where there is about the same measure of isolation that characterizes Pangai. More than this it is hard to say without more investigation.

121 The second point we would stress is this: Despite years
of contact with an invading western European culture,
177 village culture has adapted itself with very considerable
182 success to the strains and tensions thus engendered. There
has been adaptation but not extinction, a new and distinctive cultural blend but not destruction, not disintegration of either personal or social life. Some are accustomed to think that contact with a white culture always brings decay and disorder to a pre-literate culture. There is ample evidence from other parts of Polynesia, from Melanesia, or from American Indian tribes, that this cultural disintegration often occurs under these conditions. In Tonga, however, it has not occurred: and Tonga is by no means unique in this connection, even in the South Seas.

But why destruction of native culture sometimes occurs and why at other times it is possible for a people concerned to elaborate a new culture that blends old with new in a reasonably harmonious fashion, is a problem that has as yet been only noted, not carefully studied with the closeness
121 that it deserves. In this monograph we have no theories to
advance, thinking it better at this moment to describe the present-day stabilization of Pangai village-culture with as

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[1] An adequate bibliography of material bearing on Tongan ethnology is given in Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *B. P. Bishop Museum, Bull.* 61, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1929, 351-353. References to this work throughout this text are given as Gifford, *Tongan Society*.

133 (131) The island of Pangai has a greatest height of 290 feet
(423) and a total area of 2,188 acres. All the island makes up one
(643) of the royal estates. There are two villages, Pangai and
Utulei. In 1931 their populations were given as 250 and 104
36 respectively.[4] The division of acreage between the two
(162) villages is roughly indicated on the island map (Fig. 1).[A]

(423) Because the principal economic activity of the villagers
128 is gardening and cultivation of root crops mainly, a note
(241) may be added on soil and climate. The following information[5] refers specifically to 'Uta Vava'u but there is no reason
to think that it does not apply equally well to the island of
134 Pangai. The islands are of a coral-formation on a volcanic
base. The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is sub-
132 tropical with a humidity in mid-summer that is severe and
which has a year-round mean in Neiafu of 77 per cent. The
rainfall is fairly heavy with a wet season from December to
April and an occasional short but injurious drought between
October and December. (Rainfall range in Neiafu, 68 to
103 inches, mean of 82 inches.) The soil of the island is
312 very porous and water may be obtained easily by sinking
a well. Today however, the villagers rely on concrete
cisterns to obtain water for drinking and domestic purposes.
The number and location of these cisterns in Pangai village
is shown on the map (Fig. 2).[B] The prevailing winds are
132 the south-east trade-winds. During the rainy season,
hurricanes are an ever-constant threat to the villagers. Only
731 occasionally do these hurricanes occur with disastrous effect.
Every year however, the possibility of hurricane means an
ever-recurrent anxiety. A hurricane does great damage to
the gardens and cultivations and generally means food-shortage for many months thereafter. Even strong winds
of less than hurricane force may cause great damage if they

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

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(104) Tongan orthography. No confusion need arise: it should be obvious that the village of Pagai on the map is the same village referred to as Pangai in the text. It is hard to answer the very natural question as to why we use these two orthographies thus, instead of one only. Presumably we think the Polynesian system more correct than the Tongan system although we would feel guilty if we tampered with the standardized spelling of place-names on a map.

[4] According to our household census, the population of Pangai in December, 1938, was 268 (see p. 69).

(113) [5] From Wood, A. H., *History and Geography of Tonga*, Auckland, 1938, pp. 85-86.

A. [See category 116, p. 6--Analyst]
B. [See category 116, p. 9--Analyst]

the household head and twelve types of matrilineal relation- 592
ship of household members to the wife of the household 602
head. Out of the total of 268 persons covered by the house- 592
hold census, 32 are living matrilocally. Hence household 602
grouping of relatives is predominantly patrilocal and 591
patrilineal. Patrilocal residence is the rule for marriage.
This is emphasised by the fact that in only five of the
marriages recorded is there matrilocal residence. The 592
biological family of mother, father, and children composes [594]
fourteen of the forty-four households. It is also the basis
for a further fourteen households. Daughter's children and [596]
father's sister's children are the most common kin among
the additional members of all the households.

In Pangai village there are forty-four households. This 592
gives an average household membership of 6.1 persons. 162
Omitting three anomalous households which consist of one person each, the average for forty-one households with a total membership of 265 is 6.5 persons per household. That this figure corresponds to a fairly typical Polynesian norm is shown by the following table:

TABLE 10.—HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP[11]

Place	Pukapuka	Hawaii	Futuna	Uvea	Tonga
Average Membership	6.5	6.9	8.0	8.77	6.5

These figures suggest that the Polynesian household ranges between six and eight persons. For comparison it may be noted that the average size of the American urban family is about 3.43 persons. The Polynesian household, therefore, is much larger than the white family and manages to hold its size despite years of contact with the ways of the white man. The size of the household group may in fact be taken as a rough index of the degree to which the Polynesian in general has assimilated patterns of white behaviour in contradistinction to the tenacity with which he holds on to native patterns of household-organization and the social values which are implied by this type of large household-grouping.

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[11] These comparative figures are from Beaglehole, *Some Modern Hawaiians, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull.* 19, 1939, 49. [113]

604
565
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It is likely that there is a marked difference in the incidence of claims based on the *fahu* relationship between those of chiefly class on the one hand, and the commoners on the other. On the basis of his theoretical analysis, Piddington[20] for example, distinguishes three related elements in the *fahu*-complex. These elements are economic claims, claims to seniority of rank of sister's child over mother's brother, and claims to authority. He suggests that the relative importance of these elements is different in the case of commoners as compared with the Tongan aristocracy—respect and seniority (social superiority) being the essential items for royal and chiefly *fahu,* economic elements (transference of property, principally) being more important for commoners. From the viewpoint of commoner life, our observations tend to substantiate this suggestion. Whenever our informants discussed the *fahu*-system with us, they were uniformly thinking in economic terms, in terms, that is, of the transfer of pigs, food, mats and other items of Tongan wealth. Seniority, respect, authority, are of course, basic to this transfer as giving rationalization and justification for its occurrence, but these elements are secondary, not uppermost in the villager's mind. On the other hand, all accounts of chiefly *fahu*-behaviour agree with master ideas of Tongan culture in emphasizing the great significance of seniority and respect in the functioning of this aspect of the kinship system.

KINSHIP RECIPROCITY

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In the complete interrelation of elements that make up the village kinship system as a theoretical institutional structure, there is a reciprocity of rights and duties which governs the relations of each relative to each and every other. Insofar as these rights and duties are not theoretical merely, but provide justification and basis for an interchange of economic and social goods and services, it is obvious that while there may be a theoretical reciprocity, in actual practice it may be hard to secure the conditions such that practice conforms to theory. Death may break the social fabric or marriage outside of one's village of birth. In

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[113]
[20] Williamson, R. W., *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia,* edited by Ralph Piddington, Cambridge, 1937, 284-285.

that many types of sickness are due to ghostly visitants.[26] 753 To deal with these ghosts, Tongan methods are more likely 775 to bring about cures than the white man's science. The 757 following treatments were compiled for us by one of the 759 village medicine-men. They are given here, not as a complete survey of the village medical knowledge, but as indicating the sort of techniques that medicine men use in their day to day practice in the village.

Headache: There are two main types of treatment: 757 (a) Massage the head with a mixture of six *uhi* leaves 755 crushed and mixed with coconut-oil; observe also the following rules: (824) keep the head covered, do not go out in the wind, keep away from the sun and the sea; (b) Stamp on the ground three times; then place the feet on a mat and stamp again. Repeat this procedure five times in succession. This [775] treatment is advisable if it is thought that the headache is [753] caused by a ghost. The ghost is likely to drop from the body with the repeated shaking.

Earache: If the earache appears to be caused by an 757 abscess or inflammation, massage the region of the ear gently (824) with six *nonu* leaves. On the other hand, should there be no signs of external irritation, then dip the finger in coconut-oil and poke the oil deep into the ear.

Mouthache: Spread coconut-oil over the back of the mouth and palate, then rinse out the mouth three times with water.

Toothache: (a) Smear coconut-oil on the cheek in the 757 region of the aching tooth; (b) Place a small piece of Tongan 824 tobacco on the aching tooth; (c) Take scrapings from the bark of the *angoango* tree, strain them through the stipule of the coconut-tree and drink the liquid; (d) Collect twenty-four *takafulu* leaves, pound them and drink the resulting juice.

Sore eyes: Take six *hulala* leaves, pound them, then dip a piece of bark cloth into the liquid and squeeze out into the sore eye.

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[26] Notes on the conceptual basis of Tongan disease are given in a short paper by Collocott, "Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 32 (1923) 136-142. [113]

precise accuracy.[33] What is needed in this connection is the 177
development of some techniques whereby the student of 178
contemporary primitive cultures could express an index of 177
acculturation that would state concisely and adequately the 178
cultural level of the culture studied. This index would then
constitute a simplified way of describing the position of the 121
culture in question on an imaginary line whose polar limits would be aboriginal culture at one end and western European culture at the other end. If it were possible to establish such an index-expression for the various contemporary Polynesian cultures, we would have gone far in our understanding of what is meant by the processes of acculturation and culture change. This index might express theoretically either the number of aboriginal elements surviving in the present-day culture or else the number of new elements transferred from the carriers of the alien culture. This index-expression of the status of contemporary culture together with complete knowledge of the temporal order in which various elements of culture have been transferred from alien to aboriginal culture would then open the way for a more realistic attack upon the dynamics of the processes underlying the diffusion of culture.

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[33] For a brief consideration of the number and kind of cultural elements borrowed by the Tongans from western European culture, reference may be made to Gifford, E. W., "Euro-American Acculturation in Tonga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 33, 1924, 281-292. (113)
This survey of Gifford applies to Tonga as a whole, particularly perhaps to present-day Tongan culture as carried by the Tongans of Nukualofa, the capital. Many of the changes listed by Gifford obviously do not apply to small commoner-villages, as for instance, use of water-closets, automobiles, horse and cart, telephones, motion-pictures, typewriters, addiction to horse-racing and the like. [184] [565] Still other of the changes refer almost exclusively to the life of the chiefly class. References to the functioning of Christianity with its commandments *(tapu)*, the use of writing, and customs relating to tobacco-smoking, and eating, apply with fair accuracy to the culture of Pangai village. When compared with village culture, Gifford's paper has some theoretical significance, however, in that it describes the results of culture-contact for the urban Tongan as opposed to the village Tongan. [184] [369] It thus gives insight into the dynamics of contemporary culture-change among two types of Tongan community. Reference may be made in this connection to the methodological discussion in Redfield, R., *Tepotzlan, A Mexican Village*, Chicago, 1930, and the orientation to culture-contact among the Hawaiians in Beaglehole, E., *Some Modern Hawaiians*, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull. 19, Honolulu, 1939, 7-11. (113)

177 these clothes at any other time. Clothing therefore is a
178 blend of old and new, but when materials and clothing-styles
291 are both considered, it is again difficult to say in any simple
292 fashion whether current practice is more nearly related to
aboriginal or European custom.

178 Finally, to take but one more example, there has been
in the field of housing a transfer of both form and materials.
177 In the village today one sees frame houses with iron roofs
342 of European form, frame houses with iron roofs of Tongan
form, and thatched houses of aboriginal form and materials.
This refers only to dwelling- and sleep-houses. Separate
(343) cook-houses are uniformly of Tongan materials and form,
while the privies are uniformly frame structures of European
form. Is the present housing of the villager more European
than Tongan as regards both form and materials? Again
it is hard to give a simple answer.

177 Village attitudes in regard to both clothing and housing
178 may perhaps be best understood partly as an expression of a
substitution of new for old which, to use Parsons' phrase,
gives "an old habit of mind a new expression" or uses
"something new in accordance with something old."[34]

177 When we consider social and economic organization,
answers are equally hard. At one end of the scale, treat-
178 ment of disease is almost purely in terms of Tongan concepts
757 and materials with such exception, for instance, as in the
control of a typhoid outbreak when quarantine is enforced
(304) and European medical treatment often welcome, or in such
(743) surgical practice as the supercision of adolescent boys,
where the tendency in the village is to expect such surgery
to be carried out at the hospital in Neiafu. At the other end
177 of the scale might be placed religion, where Christianity has
178 been taken over lock, stock, and barrel, and there are
771 relatively few survivals of either knowledge or belief in
aboriginal religious forms. A Christian morality based on
Biblical teaching has also become the accepted morality of
the community.

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(113) [34] See Parsons, E. C., *Mitla, Town of the Souls*, Chicago, 1936, for a consideration of the role of this factor, among others, in culture-contact. Herskovits, M. J. has a brief but valuable discussion of this and other studies of acculturation in his book, *Acculturation*, New York, 1938.

177 178 19 aboriginal language. There have been additions to the vocabulary of this language to fit it to meet contemporary needs. There are also further changes in the usage of words which possibly indicate an initial break in the use of words to indicate relative social status. This is suggested by the fact that whereas in pure or classical Tongan, there are three sets of words which are used when talking to leading chiefs, middle chiefs, and to commoners, there is an apparent tendency in village speech today for villagers to use among themselves many words that would formerly have been used only in speaking to middle chiefs. There is no tendency, however, for villagers to use among themselves words formerly reserved for talking to leading chiefs.

177 178 This discussion of the difficulty of characterizing precisely the status of culture-contact in the village today may also be used to emphasize the fact that there are apparent lines of resistance-stability in the aboriginal culture on the one hand, and lines of pliability on the other hand which have influenced the course and probably the temporal order of cultural diffusion from European to aboriginal culture.[36] Changes are pronounced in marriage-customs but not in birth-customs, in the economic system but not in the language-system, particularly pronounced in the institutions of religion but not in medical treatment. Why there should be these lags in some institutions and not in others is hard to explain in almost every case. Certainly, in terms of efficiency and durability, cotton goods are superior as clothing to bark cloth. This together with Christian mission teaching in regard to bodily modesty might explain an early adoption of European clothing-materials. In the field of religion, it is also understandable in the light

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[36] Full discussion of this point would have to consider also the relation between relative rapidity of social change as the result of culture contact and the specific character structure produced in the Tongan by the culture of which he is the bearer. Thus it may well be that one of the keys to our undersatnding of Tongan social change and social inertia is to be found in a more thorough empirical knowledge than we have at present of the process of socialization as this develops within the Tongan the character structure implicit in Tongan institutional patterns. See, in this connection, the paper by Margaret Mead, "Social Change and Cultural Surrogates," *Journal of Educational Sociology* (1940) 14: 2, 92-109.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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WORKS CONSULTED.

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[p. XV]
[p. XVi is blank]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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173 Havea-tui-tonga (Makaue tui-tonga i buibui).
643 Tata-fuu-eiki-mei-mua (Lomi ae tubu Havea).
175 Takalaua (murdered, *circa* 1535).
20 Kau-ulu-fonua Fekai.
Vaka Fuhu.
Buibui Fata.
Kau-ulu-fonua.
Tabuoji (flourished 1643, and entertained Tasman).
25 Uluaki Matatelea.
Fatafehi.
Uluaki Matata.
Tui Bulotulua.
Bau (who entertained Cook, 1777).
30 Maulubekotofa.
Fatafehi Fuanu Nuiava.
Laufilitonga.

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[113]

II.—TRANSLATION OF EXTRACTS FROM THE 'JOURNAL OF THE WONDERFUL VOYAGE MADE BY W. CORNELIS SCHOUTEN OF HOORN, 1615-17, IN THE SHIP EENDRACHT (UNITY)': 1648, Hoorn (with Plates), relating to the discovery of Niua-tobutabu and Futuna.

May.—On the 9th we were in latitude 15° 20′, and by reckoning 1510 miles from the coast of Peru and Chili. At noon, just after dinner, we saw a sail, which seemed to be coming towards us from the southward. As she came near to us we shot at her with one of our pieces right over her to make them strike, but they would not; so then we lowered our boat with ten small-arms men in her to catch them, which, calling to them, we shot another piece, yet without any intent to reach or hurt them, but they would not strike.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

This list differs from Dr. Moulton's in regarding as 173
indicating separate individuals several names which he re- 175
gards as alternative designations of the one king. It is
the list favoured by the Roman Catholic missionaries, who, 643
having secured the last Tui Tonga as a convert, were prob- 127
ably in a better position to obtain information about this [197]
ancient line than were their Methodist contemporaries.

It agrees in the number of generations, though not in all details, with a list published by the late King of Tonga, George Tubou II.[1] It is also, I believe, the list favoured by Mr. E. W. Gifford, who visited Tonga in connection with the Bayard Dominick expeditions of the Bishop Museum, and to whom I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging my obligations in this and in other matters. It agrees sufficiently closely, moreover, with what seems to be the most generally accepted number of generations in the Malietoa line in Samoa, which provides one of the most important external points of contact.

CHRONOLOGY.

Several dates are known with precision. Laufilitonga 175
closed the series in 1865. In 1777 Captain Cook met Pau, 643
whom he estimated to be about 40 years old. Pau is the
thirty-fifth, Laufilitonga the thirty-eighth, and consequently 173
the reigns of four kings covered something over 88 years, and the average reign cannot be less than 22 years. Captain Cook enables us also to fix with a fair degree of probability the date of an earlier king. He found that the remembrance of Tasman's visit in 1643 was still preserved, and was informed that Pau, or Paulaho, was the fifth king since Tasman's arrival. Cook calls the kings the Futtafaihe (now spelt Fatafehi), and says: "The Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition to distinguish the king from the rest of his family) have reigned in a direct line for at least one hundred and thirty-five years. Upon inquiring whether any account had been preserved amongst them of the arrival of Tasman's ships... by way of informing us how long ago this had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of those who had succeeded down to

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[1] In the March, 1916, number of "Koe Fanogonogo," a little paper published by the Methodist Mission, which survived only a few issues.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

175 Poulaho, who is the fifth since that period; the first being an old man, at the time of the arrival of the ships."[2]

643 This statement, apart from chronological considerations, 173 lends some support to the supposition that the Tui Tonga at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 was Fatafehi, and the same result is reached by counting back from Pau as the fifth king since that event. Fatafehi was an old man at the time of Tasman's visit, and presumably near the close of his life. From 1643 to 1777 there were five kings, including Pau, still in the prime of life. For this period, therefore, we get the high average of not less than 27 years for each reign. The result is the same if we reckon 1643 as approximately the year in which Uluakimata II., Fatafehi's successor, began to reign, and take the average for the eight kings down to, and including, Laufilitonga.[3]

In some lists there is included a name Tapuoji after Fatafehi, and if this be correct Tapuoji would be Tui Tonga [644] at the time of Tasman's visit. That there was a high chief named Tapuoji living in Tonga at this time is very probable, but I am of opinion that he was not the Tui Tonga, but a Fijian, the Tui Lakepa, married to the Female Tui Tonga, the Tui Tonga Fefine, and the progenitor of the lofty lineage of the Tama-ha (Sacred Child).

Another piece of chronological evidence is the association of Tala-kai-faiki, fifteenth on the list, with the conquest of Samoa, and his subsequent defeat at the hands of the first chiefs to bear the title of Malietoa. Concerning this war Tongan tradition is curiously silent. Repeated inquiries have evoked no glimmer of remembrance. Samoan tradition, on the contrary, is full and circumstantial. Dr. Augustin Krämer compares Samoan tradition of this war with German recollection of the French war under Melac, or the Thirty Years war.[4]

The genealogy of the Malietoa line approximately dates this important event, and writers on Samoa seem agreed in assigning it to about the year 1250.[5]

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[113] [2] The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the Word (John Tallis and Company, London and New York), Vol. II., p. 157.

[3] Compare Basil Thomson, Diversions of a Prime Minister, p. 306.

[113] [4] Die Samoa-Inseln I. Band, p. 259 (Stuttgart 1902).

[5] See A. Kramer, op. cit. I. Band, p. 254, S. Ella, J.P.S., Vol. VII., pp. 231-234.

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Fatafehi, the thirtieth king, an old man in 1643, is the 175 fifteenth after Talakaifaiki, who flourished about 1250. Between 643 the two dates is a period of 393 years, and thus an 173 average reign of about 25 years is indicated.

Taking the three intervals thus dated by external evidence we seem to be justified in allowing 25 years for each Tui Tonga. This average is very high, and there is tradition, moreover, to the effect that the kings were frequently assassinated in the earlier period by aspirants to the throne, and there are exceptions to the general rule that the succession was from father to son. The dated periods, however, are sufficiently long to include, and allow for, some departures from the normal, and in the absence of definite evidence sufficient to warrant a shorter period being assumed, I accept provisionally 25 years as representing the average length of the reign of a Tui Tonga.

The beginning of the line, then, would be in the tenth century, say about 950. Bishop Blanc (P. Soane Malia), in his *Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique,* assumes the tenth century as a starting point for the Tui Tonga line, though he does not state his grounds.[6]

EARLY KINGS.

The first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, was the son of Eitumatu- 773 pua, the Lord of Heaven, and a mortal woman. Heaven was 643 not very distant, and the divine lover could visit his earthly bride by descending a great tree, standing on the island of Ata, whose head pierced the sky.

The names Ahoeitu, and Eitumatupua, both contain the [551] word *eitu* god, spirit; and Eitumatupua contains also the word *tupua,* which is of kindred meaning,[7] but in spite of mythological elements in the tradition of the beginning of the kingship, the broad fact of a new dynasty having established itself during the tenth century is probably historical. Tradition speaks of a period before Ahoeitu, when 773 Tonga was peopled from a worm bred in the decayed root of a creeper, planted by one of the Tangaloa, Lords of Heaven. Then follows the visit of the Maui, who brought

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[6] P. Soane Malia, Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique, p. 87 (Emmanuel Vitte, Lyon, Paris, 1910). [113]

[7] A. M. Hocart, Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific, American Anthropologist, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1915, p. 638. [113]

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114 very valuable and interesting work on Polynesia, that "the Tonga, the Fiji, and the Navigator Islands, are so closely associated, in regard to position, and physical character, that it seems impossible to assign any other reason why they should not all be considered as one group, than that they have been variously named by successive visitors."* Now, it will be found that, in the construction of many maps and charts, this opinion has evidently been followed, because the whole of these groups are covered, in many of them, by one general designation. Whereas, by geographical distribution, difference of language, and by various [101] ethnological distinctions, they are as truly separate nationalities, as are the inhabitants of the Grecian archipelago, when compared with those of Orkney or Shetland.

121 *Oceania* is now regarded, by geographers, as forming a fifth division of the globe. It includes the large islands, and extensive archipelagoes, in the Pacific, between the south-eastern shores of Asia and the western coast of America. This insular region is separated from Asia, by the Gulf of Martaban, the Strait of Malacca, the Chinese Sea, and the sea to the south and east of Japan; and from America, by the wide expanse of ocean, which is free of islands, between the western shores of that continent, and the most easterly parts of Polynesia. This island-world extends over about 6,200 miles of north and south latitude, and nearly 11,000 miles of east and west longitude. The land area has been computed at about 4,500,000 square

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[113] * "Polynesia: or an Historical Account of the Principal Islands in the South Sea, including New Zealand," by the Right Rev. M. Russell, LL.D., p. 241.

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133 they only begin their life, and perform the functions assigned them in nature, upon the surfaces of those volcanic ridges which have attained an elevation such as suits their habits and organization; and that, even then, they are only *assistants*, and not *principal agents*, in the deposit of the coral rock itself. Did the polypes build up from the great depths supposed, evidence of the fact could be obtained. But all evidence proves the very contrary. In a "Report on some Islands and Reefs (113) in the South-western Pacific, by Captain H. M. Denham, R.N., commanding H.M. Surveying Ship 'Herald,'" we have the following important facts stated. Having landed upon and surveyed two extensive reefs, named by him the North and South Minerva, which lie nineteen miles apart, in latitude 23° 37′ 19″ S., longitude 178° 48′ 58″ W., and latitude 23° 56′ 22″ S., longitude 179° 4′ 16″ W., he proceeds to say:—"I obtained soundings, and brought up the bottom at nine hundred and sixty-seven fathoms, about midway between them. The greater part of this sounding consists of the shells of many microscopic species of *foraminifera*. It also contains several specimens of a *styliola*, abundantly taken everywhere in the Pacific in the towing net. Mixed up with the sand, there are a few fragments of dead slender *cellepora*, a piece of a *bulla*, one perfect and several imperfect plates of a *balanus*, and several minute detached crystals of smoky quartz, prismatic, and terminated by five-sided pyramids." Again: "On the way from Moala to Angau (Gau), I placed the ship alongside of the intervening reef Mumbolithe; and, by boats, determined its features and relative positions. It proved to be of coralline structure, awash at low

parent plant. The custard apple, (*Anona squamosa*,) 000
is somewhat rare, and so also is the Tamarind tree, 245
of which there is a very fine specimen in the
Mission garden at Nukualofa.

The *fekika* or Malayan apple, (*Eugenia Malaccensis*,) of which there are two species, red and white, is much thought of. The *vi*, however, is more esteemed by European settlers, as being the best substitute for the English or American apple. In the Friendly Islands it does not attain the large size described by Dr. Seemann as characteristic of this fruit in Fiji.* We have never seen it larger than
an ordinary English apple. The *Tava*, a kind of plum, (137)
(*Pometia pinnata*,) is said to have been brought to Tonga from the Fijis, and if so, it likewise has degenerated by the change; for, while in Fiji it attains the size of a pomegranate, it never exceeds that of a large pippin in Tonga. The fruit is slimy, and very insipid to European taste. The *Ifi*, (*Inocarpus edulis*,) produces a large species of chestnut, [262]
which is seldom eaten by the people, except in
times of scarcity. The leaves of this tree, when [824]
strung together into the form of a necklace, are [301]
worn by captives taken in war, or by any offenders,
when brought into the presence of their lordly [571]
superiors, to *hu*, or make submission and obeisance.

Several of the best varieties of sugar cane, 249
(*Saccharum officinarum*,) are cultivated, under the generic name of *To*. The soil and climate are highly favourable to the luxuriant growth of this valuable tropical product. But the natives have not, as yet, been taught the method of manufacturing sugar, and therefore they have had little

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* "Viti: an Account of a Government Mission to the Viti or Fiji Islands," p. 316. [113]

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quarter to which the eye may be turned, the land 245
appears clad with their graceful foliage, down even to within a few feet of the sea itself. Proximity to the ocean, and a sandy soil, appear rather to favour than to hinder the rapid and healthy growth of the tree. Some of the finest and tallest specimens are met with on the shores of the lowest islands. In such situations they attain an elevation of eighty and even ninety feet. Hence an approaching voyager discovers the tufted heads of these palms in the distance, long before the land itself, upon which they grow, becomes visible.

The natives reckon at least nine different kinds of cocoa-nut trees, for all of which they have distinctive names, such as, the *niu-kafa*, *niu-ui*, *niu-leka*, &c. All these are known and included under
the generic name of *Niu*; so that Dr. Seemann [114]
appears to be in error when he says, that "the Fijians are the only people who in their barbarous state had a collective term for the great natural order of palms." *

In addition to the multifarious uses to which 439
every portion of this tree has been devoted, from 434
time immemorial,† the natives now derive from it [824]
a large revenue of wealth, by the manufacture and
exportation of cocoa-nut oil. Nothing of this kind 439
was done, of any importance, before the year 1846. 434
At that time the Missionaries adopted various mea- 797
sures calculated to encourage the manufacture of the article, and to facilitate its sale to resident foreign traders. They also explained the duty incumbent upon professed converts to the Christian faith, and especially upon all members of the church,

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* Dr. Seemann's "Viti," p. 367.

† Ellis's "Polynesia Researches," vol. i., pp. 50-59.

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the government of his people. On this subject, he 797
frequently and earnestly conversed with the Mis- 177
sionaries, and finally applied for their official help 671
in framing it. The subject was carefully con- 643
sidered, in the annual assembly of the Missionaries, presided over by the Rev. Walter Lawry, in 1847; and, after an interesting and important discussion of the whole matter, we recommended the king to obtain the opinion and advice of the highest English legal authority in New Zealand. The king, therefore, drew up a communication upon the subject, which Mr. Lawry conveyed to the proper quarter. A reply came, in due course, to the effect, that King George could not do better than adopt a code of laws, similar to that drawn up for the natives of the Society Islands, with such modifications or alterations as might be considered necessary, for its adaptation to any special peculiarity in the Tonguese government, or the customs of the people.* A translation of these laws was prepared by the Missionaries, and placed in the hands of the king and chiefs, for their united consideration. Many consultations were held with the chiefs, and various alterations, amendments, and additions were made. After these were completed, the king waited upon the Missionaries, to obtain their further opinion and
advice, upon the rough draft thus submitted. Upon 797
carefully and unitedly examining and discussing the 177
whole, we suggested several important alterations, 671
which he and his native advisers were to consider for themselves, and to either adopt or reject as they might deem proper. We were very careful to impress them with the conviction, that these laws must be adopted and promulgated as their own,

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* See Ellis's "Polynesian Researches," vol. iii., pp. 177–191.

and not as the laws of the Missionaries. This 797
was accordingly done; and, when the code was 177
finally completed, and made law, by public and 671
regal authority, the Missionaries found in it much that was contrary to their own views. It was, however, a great advance upon the brief and imperfect code already in operation, and would, no doubt, prepare the way for something better still.*

Schools, and the press, were doing a great and 797
lasting work, in conjunction with the regular and 177
direct ministrations of the Missionaries. The press, especially, had already conferred incalculable blessings upon the population of the whole islands. It had poured out innumerable elementary pages, [212]
in which the once unwritten language of the people was embodied in such characters, as even the aged, and most ignorant, might soon master and remember. Various portions of the Holy Scriptures, in the native tongue, had, from time to time, been issued, and were eagerly caught up by all classes. Elementary works in general and religious knowledge, had been supplied to all the schools; while, for the purposes of Divine worship, the people were supplied with native hymn books, and Wesley's abridgment of the services of the Church of England. An excellent "Tonga and English Vocabulary," compiled by the Rev. Stephen Rabone; a small quarterly periodical entitled the "Friendly Visitor," (*Aahi Fakakaiga,*) and an Almanac, completed the limited list of books and pages issued from the printing department of the Mission. These were, however, powerful agents in advancing the civilization of the people. Heathen

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* For a copy of these laws, see Young's "Southern World," p. 235. London: Mason. 1858. [113]

[Niua Tobutabu]

she was visited by her cruel persecutor, and commanded to eat, under pain of instant death. Food was forced upon her, and after a time she partially recovered, when the foul savage repeated his base proposals. She was proof against all his threats. The narrative of the subsequent sufferings and escape of this high-minded woman, form a romance in real life such as is not often met with. She ultimately escaped in the time of her greatest peril, by means of a Vavau canoe, which was providentially drifted to Uvea by stress of weather. The crew taking compassion on her case, by a clever stratagem carried her off in safety, and conveyed her to her own land.* 797 648

We reserve for another place the account of a still more recent visit to Uvea undertaken by the successor of the murdered king of Niua Tobutabu, in which he also, and his followers, narrowly escaped a similar fate. It will be enough to say here, that amidst all these sources of alarm and depression, the work of God prospered in Niua Tobutabu itself, under the care of the native teachers, with the occasional and brief visits of the Missionaries.

NIUA FOÖU.—In the year 1832, the "glad tidings of great joy" first reached this island in a very remarkable manner. Ulukalala, the king of Vavau, having projected a voyage to Niua Tobutabu, on political and domestic business, was accompanied thither by the Rev. Mr. Cross, then one of the resident Missionaries in Vavau, who gladly hailed the opportunity thus presented, of preaching Christ in the "regions beyond." When the objects of the visit were accomplished, seven canoes in all prepared to sail for Haafuluhao. Of this 797 505 484

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* "Tonga and the Friendly Islands," p. 276.

174 language would, in the first instance, move eastward, along the chain of islands, lying between the 10° and 15° of south latitude, over 50° of longitude, and, eventually, to distant localities more difficult of access."*

[173] [161] [203] Considering the geographical position of Tongatabu and its contiguous dependencies; the undoubted natural superiority of the inhabitants over those of surrounding groups; the prestige which the Tonguese name carries with it wherever it is known in the Pacific; and, finally, the fact that their traditions speak of a time when the population on the main island was so dense, that a sort of telegraphic mouth-to-mouth communication carried tidings between the most distant points in an incredibly short time, we might almost be inclined to sustain Mr. Crawfurd's opinion that in these islands the primitive germ of the Polynesian race was located. Nothing, however, can be advanced with [161] [114] certainty. That the population of these islands was at one time much greater than it is now, we have no doubt; but we think that there are no evidences to show that it was so great as the tradition intimates. Some also of the Tonguese songs and traditions indicate that Samoa has been the source from whence several of the chieftain families have sprung, and from whence also the names of several of the most important localities in Tonga have been derived. This, however, should not be allowed to prove too much. I am, indeed, inclined to think that Samoa is much more likely to have been peopled from Tonga, and that its subsequent

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[113] * Preliminary Dissertation to "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language," by John Crawfurd, F.R.S., London, 1852, p. 253.

181 delighted in mischief and blood; a cruel and rapa-
771 cious priesthood; a despotic and oppressive government; inhuman faiths, and absurd superstitions; under these the people were held in abject bondage. It was, emphatically, "a land of darkness, as darkness itself, and of the shadow of death."

776 The gods of the Tonguese were numerous, and they received constant additions from the most trivial circumstances. Every object of fear, or from which harm could come, was worshipped. Sharks, volcanoes, and any singular appearance in the natural kingdom, had each their devotees. There were family deities, and gods of the wars, seasons, crops, and winds. The four principal gods in their mythology were Tangaloa, Maui, Hikuleo, and Heu-moana-uliuli. It is questionable which of these was accounted the chief deity, or whether, indeed, the Tonguese had any notion of one Supreme Being; and, as the history of these deities has little in it calculated either to interest or instruct, we must refer our readers to other sources for information regarding them.* Suffice it to say, that in Tonguese heathenism, as in other pagan systems, we see how man has deified man: how his fertile imagination has peopled groves, shores, oceans, and skies, with beings of wonderful natures;—beings who, with some, were the objects of fear, and, with others, of companionship and protection. Here, as in all other heathen lands, men, "professing themselves to be wise, became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-

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[113] * Appendix to Lawry's "Missionary Visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands," Mason, London, pp. 248-251. "Tonga and the Friendly Islands," by Miss Farmer, pp. 125-137.

thenism by the conversion of Tugi, another conversion, from Houma, made a deep impression on 797
the heathen mind. The subject of it, although a very respectable chief of the place, was not of such high station or influence as Tugi, yet his conversion greatly loosened the foundations of heathenism in Houma, and prepared the way for its overthrow. The writer has already embodied the remarkable history of this man's conversion, in a little work, to which the reader is referred for fuller particulars; but a brief outline of it will be necessary here to sustain the connexion of our narrative.*

Hafoka, the chief concerned, had been long 797
known as a firm and persecuting opponent of the 159
Christians in the neighbourhood of Houma; but, [798]
in the course of the year 1851, his mind was brought directly under the influence of the Divine Spirit, and without the advice or counsel of any human being, he was inwardly constrained to flee from Houma, leaving his wife, family, lands, and friends, with the determination of becoming a Christian. In the village of Neiafu he sought and found rest for his troubled soul, under the instruction of Samuela Moala, the head teacher, and chief of the place. He could not have fallen into better hands, for Moala was one of the choicest converts in the whole of Tonga; a man of prayer, "and full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." To him, Hafoka was distantly related, and from him he received an hospitable welcome, with daily entertainment, while alienated from his heathen family and people. Food, raiment, and lodging, were all supplied,

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* "Hafoka: a Missionary Tale of the South Sea Islands," pp. 117. London: Mason. 1860. [113]

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

128 all the specific words used in counting and measuring various classes of objects, will, I hope, illustrate the principles sufficiently clearly.

[114] A few proverbial expressions also are added. My friend
the Rev. John Havea and myself collaborated in a collection
of proverbs which was published by the Bishop Museum
(Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans, Honolulu, 1922), and
the proverbs appended here are some that have come to
hand since the publication of that paper. As in the larger
collection I have translated each Tongan phrase literally,
114 and added some explanation of its use. My obligations to
Tongan friends are innumerable, especially to the Revs.
John Havea and John Kuli, Miss Alice Ahio, Hon. William
Tungi, and to several of the youths who were my pupils at
127 the Tubou College, Nafualu. A number of published works
have been consulted, but especial use has been made of
113 Edward Tregear's *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Wellington, 1891). Hazelwood's *A Fijian and English
and an English and Fijian Dictionary* (Waterlow and Sons,
Ltd., London, 1914), Pratt's *Grammar and Dictionary of
the Samoan Language* (Samoa, 1911), the Marist Mission's
Dictionnaire Toga-Français et Français-Toga-Anglais
(Paris, 1890), and the Rev. Shirley W. Baker's *An English
and Tongan Vocabulary, also a Tongan and English Vocabulary* (Auckland, 1897). There are a few references in the
vocabulary to a paper on *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar*
114 (Bishop Museum Press, Hawaii, 1922). A visit to Niua
Fo'ou in 1922 gave me a few words of the dialect of that
197 island, which differs somewhat from that spoken in the
main portion of the Tongan Group. These have been
128 included in the present vocabulary. Some brief notes on this
113 dialect appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society,*
Vol. XXXI., No. 4.

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 19. *Kuo vala 'ae fonua.* The land is clad, i.e., protected, not exposed to its enemies.

195 20. *Lelei 'ae fale kae kovi 'ae bou.* The house is good but the posts are bad. This indicates a person whose body is well-built, but whose legs are thin.

21. *Tau 'i tu'a fuga.* Reached land outside the anchorage. This is used of unsuccessful effort, as of a boat which has not been able to make the anchorage, but has had to come in wherever she could.

22. *Tau fegogo fai fua ki 'ulu.* Struggle leaning on, helping each other, direct the course ahead. This indicates persons struggling along, helping each other with an already great burden, but going on always to greater things.

23. *To'a-ki-kaume'a.* Brave-for-friend. Courage on behalf of a friend. In connection with this expression is told the devotion of the daughter of cannibal parents who sacrificed herself to save a girl friend.

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PHASES OF THE MOON IN TONGA.

Some time ago I wrote a short paper containing all that I had
then been able to gather concerning the naming of the days and
114 nights.* Since then a Tongan manuscript has come into my hands
127 with some fresh, and some confirmatory, material bearing on this
[128] subject. I translate it for comparison with my earlier paper:—

Matakila, when the moon begins to appear, and is said to be seen by
821 gods and only afterwards by men.

Faka-ua and so on to *Faka-valu.* There is no *Faka-hiva*, or higher number, but the moon is then called *Tu'u-efiafi*, risen at evening, or in the afternoon.

Bunifaga, when the moon is bigger than half.

Fuofuavale, almost full moon.

Katoa-to, full moon, but setting (before day-break?).

Fakatau-ata, setting after dawn *(ata).*

Mama-lou, the moon sets just before sun-rise, and rays are seen both of the moon which has just disappeared, and of the sun which is about to appear.

Feahoaki, the moon has risen whilst it is still day, and is in the sky when the next day breaks.

Uluaki ahoia, the moon is still in the sky when the day breaks.

Tafaleu, when the flattening of one side of the moon's disc becomes apparent.

Ma'una, the moon is still in the sky when day has broken, but is past the full. This is a night that is noted by the bonito-fishers.

Matofitele, the waning of the moon is very apparent.

Lekeleka, the moon is very small.

Lekeleka mate, the moon has almost disappeared.

The writer adds a note that there are 14 names for the phases of the moon.

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[113] * *Tongan Astronomy and Calendar* (Occasional Papers, B.P. Bishop Museum, Vol. 8, No. 4, Honolulu, 1922).

276 The ring is elliptical; at one end of the long diameter sits
574 the king, and at the other is the bowl in which the drink
576 is mixed, and from which it is served. On the right and
643 left of the king are his two *matapule*, whom Mr. Hocart
644 calls heralds, Motu'apuaka and Lauaki.[2] To the right of
Motu'apuaka sits Niukapu, and to the left of Lauaki is Nuku. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Niukapu and Nuku are called
643 the *Ulutolu*, Three-head. These three are all descended in
173 parallel lines from the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua, who is himself a son of the Tu'i Tonga. The first Tu'i Kanokupolu was Ngata, the eponymous ancestor of the Ha'a Ngata, who was the son, by a Samoan mother, of the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua. Ngata went from Hahake, the eastern end of Tongatabu, to Hihifo, the western end; and Hihifo has always been the principal seat of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, until comparatively recently, when the capital has become Nuku'alofa. The Tu'i Ha'atakalaua Mo'unga-tonga, about 1650, who was the father of Ngata, had a younger brother Vaoloa, whose son was Nuku, the first of this line. Similarly Mo'unga-tonga's son and successor Fotofili had a brother Halakitaua, whose son was the first Niukapu. Nuku and Niukapu and their kin are also said to be the Ha'a Latuhifo.

On the right of Niukapu is Ahio, followed by other
276 574 chiefs of the Ha'a Ngata. To the left of Nuku is Luani,
576 representing the Ha'a-takalaua in some way, and following
643 him are chiefs of the Ha'a Havea. Lavaka, Fie-lakepa, and
613 Tu'i-vakano. One informant assigned positions following
565 these Ha'a Havea chiefs to the Fale Fisi, whose chiefs are the Tu'i Ha'a-teiho, Tu'i Lakepa, Tu'i Ha'a-ngana, and Malupo. The Fale Fisi are descendants of the Fijian Tapuosi (the Tu'i Lakemba?), who married a daughter of the Tu'i Tonga, probably in the seventeenth century.

Although Tu'i Vakano belongs to the Ha'a Havea he seems to be connected in some way with Fiji.[3]

[624] At no part of the ring do two chiefs sit together. Every chief is accompanied by his *matapule*.

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[113] [2] Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Sister's Son in the Pacific*, American Anthropologist (N.S.), Vol. 17, No. 4, pp. 631-646. See also his *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, pp. 42-51.

[3] Cf. Hocart, *Early Fijians*, J.R.A.I., Vol. 49, p. 44.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

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S representatives of gods are usually referred to as incar-
171 nations; but it must be remembered there is a wide range
776 of belief from their being merely sacred to the gods to
their being occupied by the gods. The Maori term for
778 the living representatives is *aria* and the Tahitian is *ata*.
Both terms carry the association of form or shadow. The
Tongan term applied to them is *vaka* (canoe, receptacle)
which is the term applied by the Maori to the priest who
was the receptacle that the god entered at times.

T Diversity occurs with regard to the question of taboo.
S Should an individual member of a species be regarded as
784 the god's representative only when functioning, or should
the whole species be taboo at all times? In New Zealand,
776 the prevailing concept was that a member of the selected
171 species was regarded as the divine representative when it
acted in a significant manner or when a sign was required.
Otherwise, any member of an edible species was freely
eaten by the worshippers of the god represented by the
species. In Tonga and Samoa, the whole species was taboo
to all followers at all times. This western attitude comes
near to one of the elements of totemism but, even here,
it must be remembered that the animal incarnation had
never been an ancestor but that it was merely the repre-
sentative at most of a human ancestor who had been deified.

T The following table, compiled from Collocott[1] and
T Gifford[2] for Tonga and from Turner[3] for Samoa, gives a
S list of the kinds of animate representatives utilized in the
171 two groups and the number of gods that used each species:

776 TABLE 1—ANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES IN TONGA AND SAMOA.

Animate Representative	Tonga	Samoa
Dog	1	1
Flying fox	1	1
Bat	-	2
Pigeons	1	5
Dove	1	-
Rail (ve'a)	2	5
Owl	1	4

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S [1] Collocott, E. E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, vol. 30, 1921, pp. 152, 227.

[113] [2] Gifford, E. W., Tongan Society, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, no. 61, 1929.

[113] [3] Turner, G., Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago, . . . 1884.

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TABLE 2—INANIMATE REPRESENTATIVES OF TONGAN AND SAMOAN GODS.

Object	Tonga	Samoa
Whales' teeth	6	1
Sharks' teeth	-	1
Trumpet shell	-	2
Cypraea shell	-	1
Unnamed shell	1	1
Stones	2	3
Fine mats	2	-
Coconut leaf basket	-	1
White tapa cloth	-	1
Turmeric ball	1	-
Wooden bowl	-	3
Throwing club	2	-
Striking club	1	-
Coconut wood spear	-	1
Shield *(pa)*	1	-
Pitching discs *(lafo)*	1	-
	17	15

IMAGES FROM TONGA.

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Amongst the objects listed in Table 2 there is no representative in human form nor any carved object except perhaps the Tongan club. Yet Wilkes[4] reported that in Samoa carved blocks of wood and of stone were set up in memory of chiefs and worshipped. Collocott[5] also, in speaking of the furniture of the temple of the Tongan god, Mafuta-ae-tau, states that it consisted of "fine mats, weapons of war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with turmeric." This temple with its contents was burned after the acceptance of Christianity. Though the carved objects mentioned by Wilkes and Collocott may not have been in human form, the statements are interesting in view of the fact that carved images from both island groups are in existence. It is remarkable that neither Collocott nor Gifford were given information by the Tongans regarding the presence of images in the Haapai islands. Turner also made no mention of images in Samoa though such an object is now in the British Museum.

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[4] Wilkes, Charles, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1844, vol. 2, p. 139.

[5] Collocott, E. V., Notes on Tongan Religion, *J.P.S.*, New Plymouth, 1921, vol. 30, p. 228.

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

The existence in Haapai of inanimate representatives 778
of gods, shaped in human form, is established by the 532
documentary evidence of the missionary, John Williams, 127
who visited the Tongan group in 1830. At that time, Haapai 631
was subject to the authority of Taufaahau, who afterward 643
became ruler of the whole Tongan group with the title
of George Tupou I. Taufaahau, according to Williams,[6] 643
had despised the Tongan system of worship from his youth 797
and, coming in contact with missionaries during a visit
to Tongatabu, he resolved to abandon the gods of his
ancestors. On his return to Haapai, he "commenced the [798]
work of destruction upon the gods and maraes." Williams 114
had come to Tonga after work carried on in the Society 346
and Cook groups and by "marae" he meant the Tongan
house temple. His misuse of the term "marae" must not
be regarded as evidence that the *marae* form of religious
structure was present in Tonga. An opposing faction 798
determined to celebrate a religious festival in honour of 643
the gods whom Taufaahau was desecrating. Williams[7]
wrote as follows:

> "Taufaahau, resolving to anticipate and neutralize this movement, [778]
> drove a large herd of pigs into the sacred enclosure, converted a
> most beautiful little temple, which stood in the middle of it, into
> a sleeping appartment for his female servants, and suspended the
> gods by the neck to the rafters of the house in which they had
> been adored. The idolators, ignorant of his proceedings, came, with 798
> great ceremony, attended by their priests, to present their offerings, 778
> and found, to their astonishment, a number of voracious pigs, ready
> to devour anything they had to offer; and the gods, disrobed of
> their apparel, hanging in degradation, like so many condemned
> criminals."

The worshippers retired in indignation but evidently
did not attempt to cut down the gods from their elevated
position. Taufaahau conducted Williams to the building 798
and Williams[8] continues: 643

> "On observing five goddesses hanging by the neck, I requested 778
> this intrepid chief to give me one of them, which he immediately
> cut down and presented to me. I have brought it to England, with
> the very string around its neck by which it was hung."

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[6] Williams, John, *Missionary Enterprises*, London, 1839, p. 273. [113]

[7] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.

[8] Williams, *Opt. cit.*, p. 275.

to England by King Malietoa was made locally in Samoa by an inferior artist who was either Tongan or someone who was acquainted with the general appearance of the Haapai images.

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CARVED WEAPONS OF WESTERN POLYNESIA.

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The use of birds, fish, and human figures as motives in the carvings on certain types of weapons has been definitely established for Tonga. While the human motives vary in form, many of the figures with wide shoulders and dependent arms hanging free from the body suggest the characteristic attitude of the Hapaai images already described. As these figures are small and on the flat, the prominent breasts and gluteal region of the images could not be included. Their presence in so many weapons indicates that the characteristic image-attitude had become an established motive in Tonga. It might well be inferred that the human-motives on the clubs originated with the carving-school responsible for the images in Hapaai. Investigations as to the distribution of club-types in the Tongan group itself might shed light on the subject.

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The presence of zoomorphs and anthropomorphs in the carvings on Samoan clubs rests on the sole authority of Churchill.[11] The human figures recorded by him were confined to two clubs in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. I[12] have already expressed my opinion that, from the appearance of the figures and the clubs, the clubs were not Samoan but Tongan. Since then I have had the opportunity of personally examining the two clubs and I have now no doubt that both the clubs are Tongan. In fact, the museum catalogue definitely attributed one of them to Tonga, which reference Churchill must have overlooked. The one positive statement that human figures occur in Samoan club-carvings may thus be dismissed. Out of a large number of carved Samoan clubs examined by me in European and American museums, not one had zoomorphs or anthropomorphs as motives. My experience is shared by Messrs. Fuller and Oldman whose practical experience

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[11] Churchill, W., *Club Types of Nuclear Polynesia*, Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1917.

[12] Te Rangi Hiroa, Samoan Material Culture, *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, 75, Honolulu, 1930, p. 611.

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26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9

IMAGE FROM THE AUSTRAL ISLANDS.

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The large wooden image from Rurutu, with hollow back and a number of smaller figures distributed over it, has been described by both Williams[13] and Ellis.[14] A stone

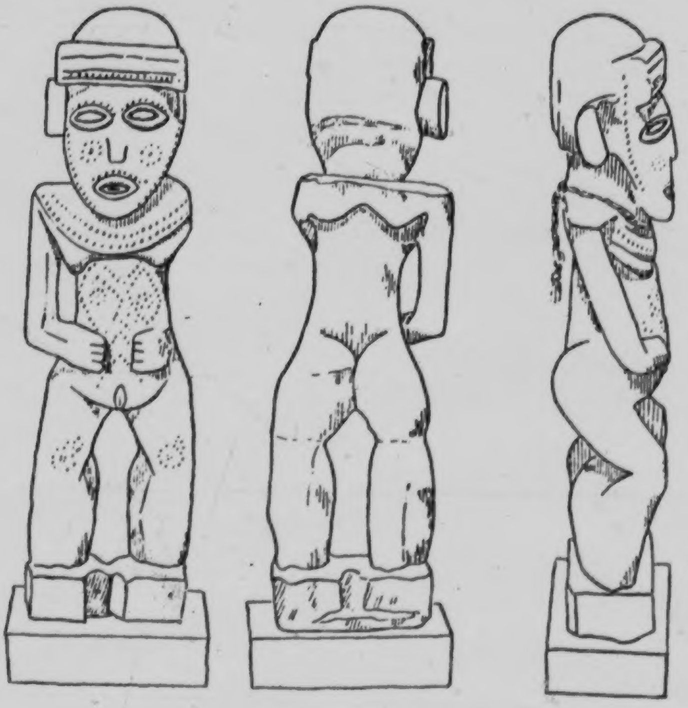

FIG. 12.

Raivavae Image, British Museum (54/12-29/120).

Height, 620 mm.; shoulder-width, 153 mm. High head with projecting horizontal band above forehead; large projecting solid ear, one broken off; elliptical eye-sockets with raised eyeballs, small nose, and elliptical mouth. Square shoulders with straight edge across back and triangular projections below probably representing shoulder blades; upper arms free of body but one broken off; forearms flexed with hands resting on abdomen. Upper chest with curved projection and triangular breasts below. Abdomen slightly protruding, no navel, incised female sex-organ, and gluteal region not excessively developed. Thighs flexed and abnormally large lower limbs fused with base directly. Incised carving patterns on face, body, and legs.

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[13] Williams, *Opt. cit.*

[14] Ellis, W., *Polynesian Researches*, 2 vols., London, 1829; vol. 2, frontispiece and p. 220.

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26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
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the round lace-caps worn at one time by old ladies of European stock. If the missionaries' wives wore such caps,* the model for the head-gear of the goddess is found. Someone in central Polynesia, possessed of some Tongan material and a sense of humour, simply tacked a piece of the Tongan circular textile on to the head of a rejected Aitutaki image. The neck- and waist-additions followed as a matter of course, and so a puzzling composite object was produced.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

This paper forms an introduction to the study of the numerous inanimate representatives of the Polynesian gods which escaped destruction and found refuge in various museums. Of these sanctuaries, the British Museum houses an enviable number. I have to thank Captain T. A. Joyce and his staff in the Ethnographical Department of the British Museum for facilitating in every possible way my examination of the rich material in that wonderful but woefully overcrowded institution. My thanks are also due to Captain A. W. F. Fuller and Mr. Oldman for access to their private collections and for drawing my attention to the Tongan images. The line drawings in this paper were prepared from photographs taken with a Leica camera by myself and thrown on to the drawing paper with a Leica enlarger. The enlarging apparatus and the employment of Mr. R. W. Foster of Yale University to make the drawings are due to the courtesy of the American Research Council in awarding me a Grant-in-Aid for the study of the material culture of central Polynesia.

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CONCLUSIONS.

Wooden images, though not common in western Polynesia, were made at Haapai in the Tongan group and the solitary specimen from Samoa was probably due to Tongan

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*In the early years of the eighteen hundreds, say the 'twenties and 'thirties, the caps worn covered the head, and the sides were continued in broad bands more or less long coming from behind the ears over the shoulders and down the breasts. See portraits of missionaries' wives in W. Morley, *History of Methodism in New Zealand;* Mrs. W. White, p. 43; Mrs. N. Turner, p. 43; Mrs. J. Hobbs, p. 52; Mrs. C. Creed, p. 75; Mrs. T. Buddle, p. 76. In the 'seventies and 'eighties some caps at any rate were quite small things sitting on the top of the head only, and with no pendent ornaments.—ED.

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of their older *vaka tele* that corresponded to the Tongan *tongiaki.*

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In addition to trade which spread material objects, intermarriages took place between the three groups, and certain social customs such as brother-and-sister avoidance and the power exercised by the sister's son over his maternal uncle's family, crept into both Tonga and Samoa from Fiji. Of the material objects that spread from Fiji to western Polynesia, the pan-pipes form a good example. The fact that a number of elements of Melanesian culture reached Tonga and Samoa, but penetrated no further eastward into the rest of Polynesia, would indicate that the diffusion was local and probably fairly recent in pre-European times. The restricted character of the diffusion forms an argument against the theory that the route of the Polynesians from Indonesia passed through Melanesia and hence supports the view of the alternate route through Micronesia.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

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Figure 1—Pan-pipes from Tonga.
Figure 2—Lashing technique of Tongan pan-pipes.
Figure 3—*a* Modern pan-pipe made in Samoa.
  b Pan-pipe from Solomon Islands.
Figure 4—*a* Pan-pipe in British Museum wrongly attributed to New Zealand.
  b Pan-pipe from Tanna, New Hebrides (Cook's Voyages).
  c Pan-pipe from New Hebrides (British Museum).

III. TONGA

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30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

expedition. Every means was tried to pacify the child, but in vain. 226
The situation was extremely awkward. On the one hand was the 784
difficulty of taking the girl, and on the other the futility of hoping to 825
take a shark if she were left weeping ashore. Finally, as the child refused to be comforted, she was perforce taken on board. The [113]
shark-fishing has been described in his book *Chez les Méridionaux du Pacifique,* by His Lordship Bishop Blanc of the Catholic Mission in Tonga, or P. Soane Malia as His Lordship was called at the time of publication.[1] Before the expedition sets out a house ashore is shut up and becomes tabu. "This house had just been carefully shut, shortly before the departure of the fishermen. It was that of the head man. Its being closed and the departure of its owner gave it a mysterious character; it became 'house of the fishing,' that is to say a place to which approach was forbidden to everybody until the return from the fishing." The shark is taken by a running noose on the end of a line, and is enticed alongside the boat by sounding with the coconut-shell rattle formed by threading coconut-shells on a stick, and by the fishermen calling out. The crew not only call to the shark to come, but add many blandishments, with flattery of its beauty and wily promises of high festival ashore. The subsidiary inducement of a piece of roast pork displayed outboard is not wholly discountenanced.

When the shark has once come alongside his fate is usually sealed. The noose is slipped dexterously over his head, and if necessary a man will even jump into the sea to make a better adjustment of the cord. Non-success in this sport is attributed to broken tabus. On the occasion which Bishop Blanc describes nine sharks were taken, and it may be best to quote a little of the conversation which he had with the head of the expedition after its return:

"And you have done this (i.e., called and taken a shark) nine times?"

"Yes."

"And the shark always comes? It always obeys?"

"When it does not come that is a bad sign. There is something in fact which prevents the shark from coming."

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[1] It was published by Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, Lyons and Paris, 1910.

split it open before throwing it away. An unsplit nut which had 754 been drunk would be a great find for the medicine man who could use 829 it to work spells on the drinker; but by opening it up one allows the emanation from himself which entered at drinking to escape. One is inclined to suppose that amongst the Tongans the Fijians enjoyed a sinister reputation for preëminence in the black art.

POSSESSION

An interesting comparison with Tongan belief is furnished by a 000 letter from the Rev. S. W. Brooks to the *Methodist Magazine* (1867 [113] Pt. I, p. 462) written from Bue, Fiji, in August, 1865:

> Among the company there was one Abraham, a strange-looking man, perhaps fifty years old. He was covered with remarkable excrescences, varying in size from a pea to a fowl's egg. On questioning the simple-minded chief as to the cause of this, and the age of the man, I made out these two remarkable things: 1. That the devil was the cause, and it was because his father had given his mother a hatchet before the child's birth; 2. That he was a thousand years old.

The devil gets rather more than his due among primitive men.

The belief in demonic possession still obtains more or less amongst 787 the Tongans. A form of hysteria is in particular associated with a [158] diabolic visit. There is a credit, however, to be entered against all that is charged against the mischievous pranks of these other-worldly visitors. A man, partly of Tongan and partly of Fijian blood, relates 000 that in Fiji there are those who are possessed by various gods, and whose supernatural power thus acquired is used for benevolent ends. They form a detective corps d'élite, of infallible efficacy in the tracing of stolen goods. Nor is their medical practice less availing. The fact that they sometimes console the patient with the assurance that he will die should be reckoned an indication of honesty rather than a confession of impotency. Their practice is clairvoyant diagnosis rather than magical healing, as they give practical assistance to the sick, sometimes by prescriptions of their own and sometimes by recommendations as to where they may obtain treatment. The narrator added that these possessed men and women were amongst the most zealous Christians, and noted for the exemplary goodness of their lives.

I should now like to add an expression of my deepest gratitude to all 122 who have assisted in the work of which these papers are the result. The project was financed by a grant from the Carnegie Social Science Research Committee of the University of New Zealand, without whose assistance the study could not have been made at all. Professor W. R. Geddes made valuable suggestions in regard to the initial definition of the problem, and as he went away on leave before I left Auckland, the task of direction fell on the shoulders of Professor R. Piddington. In the field I was assisted in a great many ways by people who cannot all be mentioned, but in particular I would wish to add the following to those already mentioned: the Hon. Tu'i Pelehake, Minister of Lands in Tonga, and the members of the Lands Department there; the Chairman of the Copra Board in Tonga; the Hon. G. R. Powles, High Commissioner for Western Samoa, for permission to do research in Western Samoa and for putting me in most effective touch with the officers in his Lands Department; Mr. Ian Stirling (Chief Surveyor) and other members of the Lands Department in Western Samoa; and Mr. Pulotu McCarthy—a wise old man whose family I had met in New Zealand and who provided me with quarters in Apia. In Fiji, my friend Mr. G. J. T. Hansen, Secretary to the Native Lands Trust Board, brought me up-to-date on the latest developments in native land policy there.

1—HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TONGAN LAND TENURE

The main features of the land tenure system operating in Tonga 421 today are well documented. In a moment I shall be summarising them 423 before proceeding to a consideration of how the legal plan is actually [128] applied to realities on the ground, and of the ways in which the system is related to the organisation of social affairs in village life. But at this point it would be well to point out that as it is set out in 171 the various legislative enactments of the Government of Tonga,[2] the 421 system is, in one major respect, well out of the ordinary run of land 423 tenure systems in Oceanic societies: this is its individualistic character.[3] Although this is decidedly unusual within the context of land tenure in Western Polynesia, it is not so extraordinary if considered in relation to the traditional form of Tongan society.

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[2] The most important are the Land Act 1927 (Chapters XXVII of *The Law of Tonga*); the Land Act (Amendment) Act 1934; and the Leases [113] (Renewal) Act (No. 15 of 1934).

[3] The distinction between "individualistic" and "communalistic" forms of tenure is not always easy to draw, but in this context I shall mean by "individualistic" that in principle one and only one individual is regarded and accepted as having sole rights to a piece of land. Rights may vary in type from absolute ownership of the soil to merely usufructuary rights; but the distinction is irrelevant, for the definition applies *given* these rights. Such an individual may, if he wishes, confer some of the benefits of these rights upon others, but this does not give them a right other than that which he has himself agreed to give. Such a system differs fundamentally from a "communalistic" one in which the rights involved are conferred upon a group of individuals *at the same time*, so that each of them has a right *equal* to that of each of the other members of the group. All powers of administration repose in the whole group, and although certain members only may appear to exercise them, they are clearly recognised to be acting for and on behalf of all members. Under such powers they can regulate priorities as to actual use of the land.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
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422 important features of Tongan society—viz., patrilineal descent. In
423 these ways, the system plays a highly useful role in the preservation of
421 the Tongan social form.

428 One may, of course, argue that after all the system is not really all
178 that different from a full-blown communalistic one. For units of land
423 (*tofia*) are still tied to groups of people (or the other way round if one
421 wishes) in such a way that the restrictive features of a communalistic system still apply. But there is no need to press such an argument too far, for the system provides only that one's *api tukuhau* and *api kolo* must be together, not that they must be in the *tofia* of one's traditional chief.

Indeed this point embodies the most important principle in Tongan land tenure which may well be considered in relation to future land development in other Pacific territories: the system contains the seeds for the liberation of land resources from the social groups in which, in systems such as the Fijian and the Samoan, they are often locked up. Within the Tongan context this principle is hampered only by the operation of certain limiting conditions—both social and legal—which, however, are particular and need not be an absolute barrier. At a higher level of economic development, when economic relations may be expected to be less personal, the possibilities opened up by this feature of the system may be capable of fuller realisation. At present, however, such factors are probably more important in limiting the possibilities of the system than, say, the claim that a system of taxing land rather than individuals militates against the desire to acquire land, for which no confirmation came my way. This claim, however, remains a potential danger to the system, and may become a real problem if taxation were raised to a much higher level. In any case, while the system has distinct possibilities, its implications should be clearly recognised before claims are made for its propriety elsewhere.

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32: Staveley & Douglas D-4 (no date) 1959

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Without the approval of the Tongan Government and the meticulous manner in which Dr. S. Tapa and his staff at Vaiola Hospital carried out the collection of specimens, the study could not have been initiated, nor would the specimens have been received in Auckland in excellent order for testing, as they were. The authors acknowledge with gratitude this co-operation. Credit is also due to the ship's officers of the Union Steamship Company, who attended to the refrigeration of the specimens during transit. We are also indebted to many colleagues for gifts of sera which broadened the scope of the study enormously. Dr. A. E. Mourant provided strong anti-M and anti-N sera; Dr. R. E. Rosenfield anti-S and anti-f; Dr. Philip Levine anti-k, anti-e and anti-Fy^a; Dr. Eloise Giblett anti-s, anti-V and anti-Js^a; Dr. F. H. Allen anti-M^g, anti-Vw, anti-Kp^a, anti-Wr^a and anti-Kp^b; Dr. M. Layrisse anti-Di^a; Dr. Leon Sussman anti-Vel; Dr. Bruce Chown anti-Fy^b; Dr. R. Race anti-P+P$_1$; and Dr. T. Greenwalt anti-U.

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We also gratefully acknowledge the technical assistance given by Miss Juliet Jacobs.

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MEASUREMENTS 412

	No. 1089 Hahake	No. 1090 Eua
Total length	290 mm.	132 mm.
Length of blade	204 mm.	93 mm.
Width of cutting edge	47 mm.	35 mm.
Width of poll	43 mm.	Pointed
Length of bevel	80 mm.	57 mm.
Width butt shoulder	55 mm.	30 mm.
Thickness butt shoulder	70 mm.	36 mm.
Thickness at poll	45 mm.	18 mm.
Thickness at chin	57 mm.	34 mm.

The terms used in this description follow those put forward to the New Zealand Archaeological Association by Janet Davidson whose article[3] presented the findings of a study group from Auckland University Archaeological Group. 128

Although these Pigorini specimens are from an ethnographic collection, the presence of this adze type in two separate Tongan localities is significant. It offers some possibility of excavating the type as part of an archaeological assemblage in that region, and if this possibility is realised then its cultural affinities will be more clearly understood. 000

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[3] Davidson 1961:6.

Tooi, Teeterree and Titore 000

BY ORMOND WILSON

In the Alexander Turnbull Library hang two portraits, somewhat dark and cracked with age, done in October 1818 by James Barry who two years later painted the more famous picture (also in the Alexander Turnbull Library) of the Rev. Thomas Kendall with Hongi and Waikato. The 1818 portraits depict young men, dressed in conventional European style, clean shaven and apparently without tattoo. Their names are given as Tooi and Teeterree.

Tooi appears frequently in the missionary records from 1814 to 1824, and in the accounts of visitors to the Bay of Islands from 1820 to 1824. During the greater part of the years 1814-19 he was abroad, in New South Wales and England. He was Kendall's first instructor in the Maori language when the two met at Parramatta early in 1814.[1] He was with Kendall on

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[1] *Missionary Register*, 1815:103, Marsden to C.M.S., 15 March 1814; ibid., 198, Marsden to C.M.S., 20 September 1814.

38: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1924
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539 again the poignant regret that had pursued their elders. Hemoana returned to the sea, leaving his sister pregnant. When the child was born the mother determined to slay it. So she battered it with a stone, and threw it into the sea. The body drifted away, and came ashore in Tofua, at a place called Lofia, in commemoration of the fact that it lay there covered over in shallow water.

[778] Tobukulu and Nafanua became two rocks to whom the Tongans used to pray for rain and prosperous seasons, and also for good hauls of fish, but they did not pray to them for recovery from sickness.[1]

E. E. COLLOCOTT.

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114 [1] Although Tongan folklore might give considerable help in the attempted solution of many Polynesian problems, by virtue of the geographical position of the island group, hitherto only a very imperfect record has been made, and it may now be too late to add to that record. [113] There is not very much to be found in the two little volumes of W. Mariner's *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands* (see "Fishing up Tonga," vol. i. (1827), p. 228; there is a tale ("The Beginning of Death"), told by a Tongan chief, in L. Fison's *Tales from Old Fiji* (pp. 139 *et seq.*); and there are about 25 pages of "traditions" in vol. ii. of *Anthropos* (1907). The preceding versions, translated by a member of the Society, the Rev. E. E. Collocott of Nukualofa, Tonga, from the Tongan in Dr. Moulton's magazine, are therefore a valuable addition to the material available to English students of Oceanic folklore.—[ED.]

NOTES

113

1. Guiart 1963:336.
2. Buehler 1968:166.
3. Schmitz 1971:337.
4. Guiart 1963:75.
5. Somerville 1937:163-4.
6. Mariner 1971:II:Appendix 2:cv.
7. Guiart 1963:2.
8. Gifford 1929:71-5; Sahlins 1958:26-9.
9. Mariner 1971:I:111, 116-24.
10. McKern 1971:33, 70.
11. *Ibid.* 71-5.
12. Poignant 1967:23.
13. Mariner 1971:II:100, 111, 131-2, 138.
14. Latukefu 1974:9-10.
15. Mariner 1971:I:101-2.
16. *Ibid.* II:128.
17. *Ibid.* 102-3.
18. Buck 1935:51-3.
19. *Ibid.* 85-6.
20. Collocott 1921:157-8; Latukefu 1974:4-5.
21. Sparrman 1944:105.
22. Mariner 1971:II:22(note).
23. *Ibid.* I:190-1.
24. Jeryl Copp, "Religion," in Teilhet 1973:36.
25. Gifford 1929:156-7; Collocott 1921:156-7.
26. McKern 1971:119; Linton & Wingert 1946:13-4.
27. Williams 1838:273-5.

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PHOTOGRAPHIC CREDIT

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Don Smoyer—p. 25(top).

The "Chronicle"—p. 37(bottom).

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
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ILLUSTRATIONS

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vi "Boats of The Friendly Isles." Plate 43, betw. pp. 474 & 475 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection . . .* 113

x [Seal of Tonga.] Adapted from the original by Nick Rott.

xii [Map of Polynesia and Tonga.] Artist: Nick Rott. Adapted from Poignant, *Oceanic Mythology* pp. 20-21, and *National Geographic* March, 1968 p. 328. 102 131

2-3 "Pirogues des Iles des Amis." French reproduction of "Boats of the Friendly Isles." Artist: Wm. Hodges. Plate 42, betw. pp. 18 & 19 in Vol. II, James Cook, *A voyage towards the South Pole* .

4 "Vue d'Un Hangar abritant la pirogue de guerre du Chef Palou." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 74 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe" . . .*

12 *Top*: "Costume de guerre." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 72 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . .

13 "Woman of the Friendly Islands." Artist: Piron. Plate 30, betw. pp. 168 & 169 in Vol. II, J.J.H. de Labillardiere, *Voyage in Search of La Perouse* . . .

14 "Vue Interieure de la Maison des Femmes du Chef Palou." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 73 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . .

27 "Map of Tonga." Betw. pp. 150 & 151 in Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*.

28 "Portrait of Poulaho, King of the Friendly Islands." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 3, facing p. 454 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .

29 "The Natche, a Ceremony in Honour of the King's Son, in Tongataboo." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 42, facing p. 466 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New Authentic, & Complete Collection*

30 "Vue de l'un des Monumens destines a la Sepulture de la Race Royale." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 95 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* .

31 *Top:* "Tombeaux des Chefs." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 101 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . . The following is a list (the reader may be interested in comparing this information with that reported by McKern in 1929) of those who were supposedly buried in each respective *langi*, indicated by numbers on the map, as reported in 1827 to the members of this French exploring voyage: 113 764 766

1. A *Tu'i Tonga* named Fatafehi.
2. Five Kings.
3. A King and his wife.
4. A child.
5. A King.
6. Four Kings.
7. A King.
8. Kings named Tu'ipulotu & Fatafehi, plus two others.
9. Four Kings.

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764
766

10. A small child.
11. Tongamana, grandfather of the chief Havea; also the chief Tu'i.
12. Grandmother of the chief Havea.
13. Tomb in memory of the chief Telea, who was lost at sea.
14. Finau, a chief who met Cook.
15. The chief Tafoa.

'Oku pehe ko e ngaahi telio'anga eni, 'o fakatatau ki he ngaahi fakamatala na'e ma'u 'e he kau folau 'a Dumont d'Urville:

1. Tu'i Tonga ko Fatafehi.
2. Kau tu'i 'e toko nima.
3. Tu'i mo e kuini.
4. Tamasi'i pe ta'ahine.
5. Tu'i.
6. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa.
7. Tu'i.
8. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa, kau ai 'a Tu'ipulotu mo Fatafehi.
9. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa.
10. Tamasi'i pe ta'ahine.
11. Tongamana, 'a e Kui 'a e 'eiki ko ia ko Havea.
12. Kui fefine 'a Havea.
13. Mala'e fakamanatu 'o e 'eiki ko Telea 'a ia na'e mole 'i tahi.
14. Finau, 'a e 'eiki na'e fakafe'iloaki kia Kapiteni Kuki
15. 'Eiki ko Tafoa.

● 113 31 *Bottom:* "Tronc d'Arbre, de 100 pieds de circonférence, pres de Mous." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 75 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas—Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .

32 [*Langi*] Betw. pp. 46 & 47 in Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands.*

34 *Top:* "Tombeau de Pangai a Hifo." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 88 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas—Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .

34 *Bottom:* "Tombeau d'un Chef." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 95 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas—Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .

35 "Portrait of Otago, or Attago, a Chief at Amsterdam." Artist: Wm. Hodges. Plate 49, facing p. 141 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .

36 "George Tubou King of the Friendly Islands." Frontispiece in Rev. Thomas West, *Ten Years* . . .

38 "The Reception of Capt. Cook, in Hapaee." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 46, facing p. 450 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .

[193] 39 "A View at Anamooka." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 29, facing p. 447 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .

[501] 40 "Consultation a l'Esprit pour un enfant malade." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 77 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas—Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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he entered into the Kiu (? 'Sea-lark'), and went down, and flew in all directions, but could not see any land, only shallows. Then went he up to heaven and reported to the Tangaloas that there was no land, only something that looked like shallows. Said the heavenly chief, 'Wait seven nights, and then go again and see': so Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo remained seven days in the sky, and then went down to look at the shallows. The bottom was evidently coming up, and he reported to heaven, 'It looks like a reef.' He said also, 'I can find nothing to stand on and rest.' So they said, 'Go to Tangaloa the Smith, and let him throw down the dust of the pumice he sharpens his axes with.' So Tangaloa Tufunga did so, and threw down the dust of his grindstone, and produced the island of 'Eua. On this being reported, Tangaloa was sent down to stand there and watch. By and by a bit of the shallows would become dry, and ultimately a large land grew up, which consisted, however, only of sand. Tangaloa reported, 'My land is large, but nothing will grow on it.' Then said Lord Tangaloa, 'Take this seed, and set it in the land you have discovered.' It was a *fue* (convolvulus). So he set it, and it overspread the land. Then said he, 'There is vegetation enough, but no people: and Lord Tangaloa and the other heavenly chiefs replied, 'Go and split the root of the *fue*.' He did so, and it rotted and produced a grub. So he reported to the sky, 'A great thing is lying in the *fue* I split.' They ordered him to cut it in two, and to call the head Kohai ('Who is it?') and the tail Koau ('It is I'). He did so, and both parts became men: as did also a little piece that had adhered to his beak. This was called Momo ('Little Bit'): and he with the other two were the first men.

Now at that time Maui the Elder ordered his family to go on board a canoe, and fish up lands. There were four Maui in the canoe: Maui Loa, Maui Buku, and Maui 'Atalanga with his son Maui Kijikiji; and they took their mother Vele with them. She was the maker of mats and fine robes. They called at Manuka, a part of Samoa that was already above the waters. And Maui Kijikiji, leaping ashore, went to get a fish-hook. Meeting the chief's wife, he ravished her; and she, taking kindly to him, revealed her husband's secret, that the magic fish-hook, which would bring up lands, was not a bright and glittering one, but an old and rusty hook, stuck in the reeding. So they got the hook, and, having tried it successfully near Samoa, sailed on boldly, and pulled up Tonga and many other groups of islands. When they came to 'Eua, and saw the three men, they asked whether they had any women; and on their replying 'No,' they went and fetched three, so that they might have one each.

At that time the sky was very low, and an ironwood tree that stood in Tonga reached quite up to heaven. So 'Eitu-Matubu'a was wont to climb down, and visit the earth; and, cohabiting with a woman in one of the islands, had a child by her called 'Aho'eitu. When he grew to man's estate, he asked who and where his father was; and was directed by his mother to climb up the ironwood tree, and seek him in the sky. He finds him, is recognized, and sent to play with his brothers, who become jealous, and finally kill and eat him. 'Eitu, finding this out, makes them vomit into a large tub, and covers the *disjecta membra* with the leaves of the tree of life (*Nonu*). By and by the fragments cohere, and ultimately 'Aho'eitu is found sitting up alive. His brothers are punished by being turned out of heaven, and have to serve 'Aho'eitu on earth, who becomes the first Tu'i Tonga, superseding the children of the 'grub.' The Maui afterwards pushed the sky higher up, as it is at present.

Now the Maui dwelt in the under world, but one of them, Maui 'Atalanga, said to his brethren, 'Have you any objection to my living on the earth, if I visit you from time to time?' And they said, 'No.' So 'Atalanga went up to the earth, taking his young son Kijikiji with him. He lived in Vava'u, and married a mortal wife. Now Maui 'Atalanga did not plant in Vava'u; for he was a mighty planter, and there was not land enough; so he had his plantation in the under world. He kept this, however, a secret from his son Kijikiji, for he was such a mischief. But Maui Kijikiji tracked his father by his footsteps, and, seeing him lift a bush and descend into the earth, waited a while and followed him. Many tricks did he play, until one day his father sent him to Maui the Elder to get a fire-stick. Kijikiji kept quenching the fire and going back for more. At last old Maui told him to take the whole log. This was of enormous size, but the young Maui took it up with ease. Old Maui, who had not recognised his grandson, perceiving that he was a superhuman being, challenged him to wrestle—with the result that the elder Maui was thrown and left for dead. 'Atalanga, hearing of it, strikes his son with his spade and kills him. On going, however, to see how his father was faring, he finds the old man alive, and rather pleased than not with his defeat by his grandson, and angry with his son for having killed him. They apply, however, the leaves of the tree of life, and Maui Kijikiji revives. His next exploit is to carry some fire from the under world to earth, in spite of the efforts of his father to prevent him. They then devote themselves to fighting with and destroying the monstrous animals that infested the world—a huge rat, a gigantic bird called the Moa, a lizard, and some carnivorous trees, etc. Maui 'Atalanga is at last devoured by a huge dog that lived in a magic cave which opened and closed automatically; and his son, after killing the dog, died of grief for his father, etc.

● 113

LITERATURE.—The principal authorities on the state of Tonga in early times are these: William Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*^{3}, London, 1818; G. Vason, *Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Residence in Tongataboo*, do. 1810; S. S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, do. 1855. [Mariner's is a most valuable work. He gives evidence

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[p. 379-B]

000 The percentage of red-green blindness in a random sample of Tongans may be compared with percentage figures for white male subjects which range between 7·2 and 12·8[1] (Clements, however, reporting that an average percentage of about 8 represents an accurate estimate of results of Ishihara testing of white males)[2]; for Chinese males, range 5·57 to 6·3 (Collins); for Turkish males, 5·3 (Collins); for American Indians, range 1·79 to 1·9 (Clements); for American Negroes, 3·7 (Clements); for the Todas, 8·54; and for Upper Egypt, 5·03.[3] Some of these

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[113] [1] Collins, Mary: 'Tests in Common Use for the 'Diagnosis of Colour Defect,' *Rep., Brit. Ass. Ad. Science*, 1937, 207–208.

[113] [2] Clements, F.: 'Racial Differences in Colour 'Blindness,' *Amer. J. Phys. Anthr.* 14, 1930, 428–430.

[113] [3] Rivers' results are summarized in Parsons, J. H.: *Colour Vision*, Cambridge, 1915, 145–151 and in Clements, *l.c.*, Table 1, 425, Clements also presenting a summary, in the same table, of results of colour-blindness tests on primitive peoples prior to his date of publication (1930).

[p. 170-B]

151 143 125 128 it may be noted that Collins (*l.c.* 219–220) using the fourth edition of the Ishihara test in which Plates 10 and 11 appear to correspond to Plates 18 and 19 of the seventh edition, found that 4% of whites with normal colour-vision could read the hidden number in Plate 10 (18) and 27% could read the hidden number in Plate 11 (19). Collins regards the results for Plate 10 as distinctly curious and puzzling, but she believes that Plate 11 is proved to be an unsatisfactory test-plate. It may be noted that the 'deviant' normal Tongans all read all the four plates with equal ease.

822 [125] In regard to general colour-discrimination, Tongan informants, male and female, were asked to name a series of colours in a colour chart. Specific colour names collected were: *hinehina*, cream or white; *tetea*, skin white; *felofelo*, yellow or gold; *enga* or *engeenga*, yellow; *kula*, red; *uliuli*, black. There is no specific colour-name for blue and possibly none for green either. The Tongans use many descriptive colour-names. To give a few examples: *lanu moana*, blue (*lanu*, colour, *moana*, sea); *lanu mata*, green; *panefunefu*, brown (dim, obscure, indistinct); *memea*, tan or buff (drab); *kupesi*, dark brown (stencil for making bark cloth); *loufusi*, deep green (banana leaf). Degrees of saturation are expressed by such qualifying words as *mama*, light, and *fakapo'opouli*, dark.

151 822 In view of colour-test results, the lack of a specific colour-term for blue need not necessarily imply a poor discrimination for this colour, nor does the relatively poor Tongan colour-vocabulary necessarily connote weak colour-discrimination.[4] All informants were at pains to indicate that they had no difficulty in distinguishing clearly each of the colours in the colour chart. Their difficulty, they said, was simply one of finding words to
822 182 indicate clearly discriminated colours. Doubtless, as C. S. Myers has suggested,[5] colour names are formed where they are needed; where they are needless, they will not be formed, however great the sensibility of a people to specific colours. The Tongans seem to have developed sufficient colour terms adequately to control their

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[113] [4] For a summary of the philological evidence and the theory based thereon, see Klineberg, Otto: *Race Differences*, New York, 1935, 142–144, and Clements, *l.c.* 420–422.

[113] [5] Myers, C. S.: 'Some Observations on the Development of the Colour Sense,' *Brit. J. Psych.*, 2, 1908, 361.

islands as a constant readjustment between real and assumed ex- 161
pectations, and movement is still much influenced by social factors 162
concerned with reciprocal obligations of kin, of chief and commoner, 166
of the village, the church, of factors concerned with social cohesion and 361
unity.

Some new patterns have emerged. The high southern *liku* coast of
Tongatapu is attracting population as other areas become more con-
gested. Many villages have grown beyond the expected optimum size for
social cohesion, and some have coalesced.[35] It seems likely that new [571]
social groupings will cut across the village and possibly undermine kin [602]
groupings which, to date, have eased problems often associated with
population increase and movement elsewhere. Many of the factors in- [178]
fluencing population movement are new, the two most obvious and [871]
important being education, which permits social mobility in a society
still noted for its rigid stratification, and money, the wherewithal to [555]
achieve many new expectations, and increasingly a necessity for even [565]
the most isolated islander. Nuku'alofa is no longer a village; it has [436]
many of the characteristics of a town, and its rapid growth, its problems [171]
and attempted solutions tally with patterns of urbanisation in other parts
of the Pacific. Moreover, the pace and direction of movement—to 166
Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu—have prompted government development 179
policies which have further exaggerated the economic imbalance among 361
islands, leaving Vava'u with land tied up in title disputes and Tongatapu
overflowing with people who have migrated in anticipation of oppor-
tunities which must often exclude the legal occupance of land.

Traditional attitudes to kin, rank and land have helped Tonga to 178
meet the problems associated with population growth and movement
with little social distress. This is true of the past, it is still true today,
but it is not certain that it will be true of the future.

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[35] Spillius (1959) considers the question of optimum village size. There were 13 settlements with over a thousand population in 1966. These accounted for 46.3 percent of the total population.

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ture as of the pressures of population growth, and even in a still partly traditional agricultural system population growth may thus cease to be the critical determinant of agricultural change. 000

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research on which this article is based was 122 supported by the Australian National University. I am indebted to Professor H.C. Brookfield and 128 Dr. D. Lea for their comments on an earlier draft of the paper, to innumerable people in Tonga for their assistance in fieldwork, and to the Fiji Department of Agriculture for the analysis of soil samples.

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[p.64-B]

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

621 612 591 In the Tongan village today, the basic kinship organisation is *famili* that is personal kindred, and along with it, there are also particular bonds between nuclear families and an old man, *ulu i famili*, who is usually chosen on the paternal side of the personal kindred. Personal kindred functions in daily life, but one's belongingness to *ulu i famili* is shown in ceremonial occasions of life crises such as weddings and funerals.

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*Household Composition in the Tonga Islands: A Question of Options and Alternatives**

SHULAMIT R. DECKTOR KORN

The composition of households in Tonga (Western Polynesia) does not conform with ideal patterns, nor does the statistical description of household types reveal clear principles of household structure. Instead, Tongan household structure is most clearly understood within a decision-making framework as the outcome of different ways of satisfying the material and social demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the households, considered in relation to the resources available to them. This analysis directs attention to some of the conceptual problems associated with the use of terms like "option" and "choice" in constructing decision models for discussing the diverse behavior of different people in a society. 121 592 121

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF OCEANIC SOCIETIES commonly note that [592] the composition of a household may change from one month to the next—an observation that is also true of household organization in the Tonga Islands of Western Polynesia. The chief concern of this paper is to demonstrate that the composition of Tongan households is best understood as the outcome of different ways of satisfying the material and social demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the household, considered in relation to the resources available to them. A secondary concern, but one of more general significance, is to indicate some of the problems associated with the concept of choice in the construction of "decision models."

Island societies provide special opportunities for studying "social forms and usages that help to get people to resources and resources to people" (Vayda and Rappaport 1963:137). Indeed, 20 years ago, Goodenough pointed out that some of the peculiar features of Malayo-Polynesian social organization are "admirably suited for keeping group membership balanced in relation to its immediate land resources" (1955:80-81). The most notable of these features are the optative character of land-holding groups and the prevalence of adoption, both of which are presently regarded by anthropologists as mechanisms for shifting people about in relation to the available resources. A third

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*Fieldwork on Tongatapu was carried out from July 1969 to May 1970. The support of an International Fellowship from the American Association of University Women is gratefully acknowledged, and I thank the Government of Tonga for permitting me to conduct fieldwork. [101] [122]

A short preliminary version of this paper was read at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, December 1973, and was subsequently presented in expanded form at the Symposium on Household Economic Strategies at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, Monterey, March 1974. The paper, in its various versions, has benefitted especially from the comments of Sharon Tiffany and Fred Korn. [113]

121 If we are to talk coherently about social organization, it is essential that there be no confusion about what is meant when we speak of options and alternatives. Failing that, the contemporary emphasis in anthropology on elements of choice and individual volition may become as exaggerated as the cultural determinism of a previous generation.

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613 term assistance of members of a different *famili*. In the case of the *ha'a*,
612 especially, it is not lightly done—I doubt any person would do it more than
565 once in a lifetime—but it is common enough not to be exceptional.
557 Switching membership fits in with the Tongan idea of *ngāue'aonga'aki 'ene faingamālie*, which can be roughly translated as "make use of the advantageous situation when it comes your way".

613 The second point of similarity between *ha'a* and *famili* is that descent—
or rather, filiation—is no more than a necessary condition for an accept-
612 able claim to being a member; it is not sufficient to establish membership.
565 This, of course, is not peculiar to the Tongan situation. The obvious
611 contrast is with unilinear descent groups, and it is a feature common to
[171] many Polynesian kin groups. In the case of these Tongan groups, membership is activated by the person himself: in the *ha'a*, by asserting his claim to a high-ranking connection with a title; in the *famili*, by participating in the activities of *famili* membership.

CONCLUSION

121 My purpose in this paper has not been simply to describe two kinds of
613 kin group in Tonga, but also to draw attention to the fact that these two
different kin groups tie in with two different areas of social concern, or
612 social fields, for which the tracing of kin ties is relevant in Tongan society. One of these has to do with establishing the range of people with whom an individual is involved in co-operation and participation in daily activities. These are the kin ties that establish the resource groups within the domestic
[554] sphere: ties to household, *kainga*, and *famili*. The other area of concern in tracing kin ties has to do with establishing and validating claims to
[565] high rank at the societal level.

114 On the basis of comparison of the rank aspects of kinship, focusing on the *ha'a* in Tonga, Sahlins(35) came to certain conclusions about essential
171 differences between the structures of Tongan and Samoan society at the local level. These conclusions have become enshrined in the teaching of Polynesian ethnography. It is hoped that these conclusions will now be re-examined. While the importance of aristocracy in Polynesia is not denied, the data presented in this paper show that a noble view is a faulty basis for generalising about an entire society.

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35. 1958.

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49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

873 of Tongan children are leaving school with no prospects of either secondary
874 schooling or vocational training. State schools have no likelihood of
introducing vocational training under the present budget allocations and
places in secondary schools are few. In 1968, a total of 2,400 pupils sat the
Tonga High School (Government) examination with only 55 places
available.[17] Even in secondary schools there is little education for specific
careers; the 1967 Report of the Department of Education estimated that
only 8% of a secondary school pupils were receiving vocational training.

674 The Annual Report of the Police Department for 1967 shows that the
number of reported crimes had increased by 21.0% over the previous
year and that 52.0% of those convicted on criminal charges were between
625 the ages of nineteen and twenty-five. The proposed scheme to reinforce
the police force and build a new jail and police headquarters will probably
do little to alleviate this problem.

648 The United States Government has allocated an annual quota of one
167 hundred immigrants to Tonga; this scheme is fully booked for the next
three years. Small Tongan communities exist in Samoa, New Hebrides,
Australia and New Zealand, but to New Zealand at least no regular
emigration is permitted.

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[17] Mr Peter L. Chignell, Director of Education in Tonga; personal communication.

50: Pulu I-5 (no date) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

deleted leaving /vevela /'a e taa/. Somehow the /ve/ which looks like only a 103
reduplication of the C_1 V_1 in /vela/ "burn" but has the connotation of referring
to "pain" and "hurt" rather than to a diminutive form with the same meaning 114
of "to burn" got deleted and only /vela/ "burn" was left. Deletion of /'a e/ left 539
behind /velataa/. Long /a/ was lost and only /velata/ remained to cause Gifford 643
to arrive at a very literal English translation of "to burn and to strike". 194

One can see from the above examples that onomastics greatly contributes to a 103
better understanding and a more accurate translation of place names for, after
all, they are nothing more than mnemonics of significant events dealing with 114
religious activities, marriage contracts, wars of both local and foreign nature, births, deaths, travels to foreign lands, local migrations due to natural hazards or tribal disputes, festivities, and even genealogies.

Sometimes place names do give meanings that sound like "descriptions of 103
physical features" of particular localities, but often these are not exhibited physically by those places. They are mere symbolisms of inner feelings, a direct result of the Tongan's urge to express his thoughts of appreciation for the aesthetic values of plants, animals, land, sea and sky which are closely associated with his sense of identity.

The Tongan place names have certainly become great and effective instruments in motivating people to action. They have great value in inculcating a deep sense of group solidarity which permeates the very being of every Tongan regardless of his knowledge of their meanings which are now slowly being buried with the inevitable passing of the older and more knowledgeable generation.

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51: Posesi Fanua G,I-4,5 (no date) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,

In a recent issue of your journal (vol. 82, No. 2, June 1973), I was interested 114
to read an article by Tupou L. Pulu under the heading: "Some Remarks on
Alternative Meanings for Tongan Place Names".

Although I heartily agree with her in her opinion of Gifford's *Tongan Place Names*, Gifford's mistakes serve rather as a warning to me, as it is so easy to fall *into the same trap*.

I have spent almost 20 years of my life doing research into this subject and still
feel I cannot be so arrogant as to make decisive statements. Of course, I can 114
quote information given, but the giver of that information must also be quoted 103
as there are many versions of each place name: the name 'Auhangamea is an
example. In another account, which I learned from Mafile'o Funaki of 'Uiha, 103
the young daughter of a Tu'itonga died on a return voyage from 'Uvea. As the 173
vessel passed this strait, the mats and tapa which had been wrapped round the
putrifying body were renewed and the soiled articles thrown overboard so that
they would be destroyed. Thus the strait was called: "Place (*'anga*) where the
[mats and tapa] things (*me'a*) were destroyed (*'auha*)". But, as I have mentioned 114
above, I feel I must steer off this subject lest I too should fall into the same
category as Mr Gifford and others.

The only thing I should like to correct is that Houma-fale-ono was not the [159]
daughter of the Chief of Houma. Her father was Ma'afu-tukui-'aulahi, Chief of [622]
Vaini, and there is no dispute about this. In the 18 books of genealogy kept in
the Palace Office, Nuku'alofa, she is cited as such. [217]

Included in the list of references, is a work by my father, Fe'iloakitau Kaho.
The title is given as *Ko e Kuini 'o e Tu'i 'e he Kau Ha'apai*, which, being in italics, 114
I understand to be the name of a book; being Kaho's one and only child and 113 ●
having no knowledge that he ever wrote a book, I naturally should like to have
information on where I could obtain a copy. The title given to this book is the [533]
title of a song of his which he composed for a *lakalaka* dance; I found it amongst
his papers when he died at the good old age of 89 years.

In my father's papers, which as his only child I became heir to, there is a 114
different story cited there about the birth of Taufa'ahau (Tupouto'a's son). I might 173
mention here that Tupouto'a and Kahomovailahi were first cousins, their mothers [428]
being sisters. Kahomovailahi was my father's great-grandfather.

I pen this letter only because Kaho Fe'iloakitau is my father and I hate to 114
think that one such as he, who spent most of his life researching and teaching
our history, should be thought to have made such a mistake as that concerning 814
Houma-fale-ono's parentage, which every school child is familiar with.

I am sincerely,

Tupou Posesi Fanua
Tonga Traditions Committee,
Palace Records Office,
Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga

noseflute was a trait common to the proto-Oceanic people. The panpipe, 534
on the other hand, was one of the least widely distributed of Polynesian 171
traits. The only satisfactory pre-European evidence is from Tonga. Hiroa 175
appeals to Wilkes (1844) and Stair (1897) for Samoan evidence, but 534
their writings are too late to prove pre-European distribution.[1] I agree 171
with Hiroa that this limited Polynesian distribution indicates late pre- 114
European introduction from Fiji, but for different reasons. It would 175
appear that panpipes are part of the Melanesian culture complex that
came into the Melanesian area in post-Lapita contexts and extended
as a complex as far as Fiji. For centuries before the coming of the 177
Europeans there was considerable contact between Fiji and Tonga in
trade, warfare, and intermarriage. Diffusion of material culture was
inevitable.

A number of parallels in material culture, including panpipes and 175 534
bamboo stamping tubes, are shared between Tonga and Melanesia,[2] 535
which suggests late introduction from Fiji. Bamboo stamping tubes 177
(tuki kofe) accompanied Tongan dances of the type called *me'elaufola*. [171]
At the time of European contact the *me'elaufola* was a living dance [533
type, with the poetry sung in everyday language (rather than the older 192]
poetic Tongan used in the texts for other dance types), and could
easily incorporate new musical instruments and ideas. The use of bamboo
stamping tubes in Tonga is described mainly in the journals of
Cook and Labillardière. Tongans today are not familiar with the
instruments except as used in the Fijian *meke*. The demise of bamboo
stamping tubes soon after European contact suggests that they were not
fundamental to Tongan music and may have been introduced relatively
recently in prehistoric times from Fiji. The panpipe (*mimika*), likewise, 534
seems to have had no fundamental musical purpose or meaning in 175
Tongan music, but rather appears to have been simply a pleasurable
pastime object. I suggest that it, too, was introduced from Fiji relatively [177]
late in the prehistoric sequence, that it enjoyed a temporary flowering,
then changed, and eventually disappeared after European contact.

In his 1941 article, Hiroa attributed two Tongan panpipes to Cook's 534
voyages. One of these, in the Cook collection in Berne, Switzerland, 113
was collected by Webber, artist on Cook's third voyage (although it is
not listed in Henking 1957, and cannot be located). The other, in the
British Museum, is noted "Cook coll.", although this attribution was

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534 113 not documented. Besides the latter, Hiroa describes three other panpipes in the British Museum and attributes their collection to H.M.S. *Herald* (1941: 174). This information, however, appears to be incorrect, and only the 5-pipe panpipe is from H.M.S. *Herald*. The other two British Museum specimens discussed by Hiroa have no numbers or labels, nor do two other ten-pipe panpipes in the British Museum collection not mentioned by Hiroa. Neither Hiroa nor the British Museum pursued the Cook voyage attribution of the "Cook coll." panpipe; however, its origin is easily documented, for this panpipe and another were the subject of two short papers by Joshua Steele in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. Steele wrote about two Tongan panpipes, which, because of the 1775 publication dates, are certainly from Cook's second voyage. One specimen was brought from the "Isle of Asterdam" (Tongatapu) by Captain Furneaux (Captain of Cook's companion ship, the *Adventure*), and given to Mr. Steele for experiment in 1774 by Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society. Shortly after, Joseph Banks brought another panpipe from Tongatapu to Pringle, who gave it, also, to Mr. Steele for experiment. Steele reported on this larger panpipe in February, 1775.

An analysis of the description by Steele—especially the length and placement of the individual bamboo pipes (1775: 74) leaves little doubt that the panpipe ultimately from Banks[3] is the panpipe now in the British Museum noted "Cook coll." (fig. 1,c). Just when this "Banks" panpipe was acquired by the British Museum is unknown. The "Banks" panpipe is illustrated (fig. 2) in a volume of drawings (Add. Ms. 23920 · 110(124), also given to the British Museum by Banks. It may also be the same panpipe that was engraved in the official account of Cook's second voyage (fig. 3). This engraving, however, has two bindings near the bottom of the pipes whereas the British Museum specimen and drawing (and all other known specimens) have only one. What happened to the Furneaux panpipe that was described by Steele is unknown. It is not among the small collection of objects owned by a collateral descendant of Capt. Furneaux (Furneaux 1960: 180). It should be possible to identify it because, according to Steele, the instrument had nine pipes, the fourth (and presumably longest) measuring 7 1/4 inches (Steele 1775: 76), but this dimension does not match any instrument known to me. Furneaux is said to have given a collection of 18 objects to the British Museum (Miller 1973: 76) but these cannot be identified today. from British Museum records. Although it is possible that this panpipe is one of them. the dimensions do not correspond to those in the British Museum.

A third panpipe (fig. 5). once associated with Sir John Pringle, is now in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (1956. 1008). It was purportedly collected by Cook and given to Pringle by Cook's widow with several other specimens. Pringle gave it to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1781. This date would indicate a Cook voyage provenance, but whether it is from the second or third voyage is not indicated.

The most systematic collection made on Cook's second voyage was that of Reinhold and George Forster, who may have collected as many as eight panpipes. One of these (fig. 6b) was given by the elder Forster to the Ashmolean Museum by 1777 and is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. A second panpipe was in Reinhold's personal collection and was purchased from his widow in 1799 by the forerunner of the Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen (fig. 7a and see note 8). Two further panpipes, which tentatively can be attributed to the Forsters, are listed in the register of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.[4] Two panpipes now in Museo Nazionale di Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, may also have come from the Forsters (fig. 8). In February, 1778, a list of objects that the Forsters still had for sale was prepared for Giovanni Fabroni for possible purchase for the Royal Cabinet in Florence.[5] The list included "a musical instrument similar to the syrinx of classical times". In the Florence collection there are eighteen bamboo pipes which at one time composed two Tongan panpipes. Giglioli described one panpipe consisting of ten pipes, and a second, consisting of eight pipes, which he thought to be incomplete (1893: 217). It is likely that one or both of these panpipes came from the Forsters, although no list of what (if anything) was actually purchased from them has yet been found.[6] Another part of the Forsters' collection is now in Wörlitz, Germany, and this, too, contains a panpipe (Germer 1971: 81). Finally, a collection of forty-one objects was sold to Baron Heinrich von Offenberg, who took it to Mitau, Latvia (Anon. 1917: 20).[7] The present location of this collection (if it still

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

534 exists) is unknown but there is the possibility that it, too, contains a
113 panpipe.

Another Tongan panpipe that comes from Cook's second voyage was collected by Anders Sparrman and is now in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm (fig. 9). Its longest pipe is broken, but would probably have been similar to the panpipe depicted in fig. 1 c. A

The only panpipe traceable to Cook's third voyage is the one described by Hiroa from the Webber collection in Berne. The object cannot be located but a photograph of it exists (fig. 10). B A panpipe in the Cook collection in Göttingen, obtained through the London dealer Humphrey, may also derive from the third voyage (fig. 7b). C This latter panpipe is described in a catalogue which accompained the collection as "A Reed-pipe or Organ, somewhat like the ancient shepherd's or pan's pipe, from the Friendly Isles".[8] This instrument may have come from the 1781 sale of the collection of David Samwell, surgeon's mate on Cook's third voyage (Kaeppler, in preparation, b). A Tongan panpipe said to be in the National Museum, Ireland (Freeman 1949: 8), probably came either from Surgeon Patten on the second voyage or Lt. King on the third voyage. This panpipe cannot be located today.

A large number of ethnographic specimens from Cook's voyage was sold at the auction of the Leverian Museum, London, in 1806. Of the nine panpipes listed in the auction catalogue, seven were attributed to Tahiti and for two no provenance was given. In the drawings by Sarah Stone of objects in the Leverian Museum two panpipes are depicted-- one from the New Hebrides and one from Tonga (fig. 11). D In view of the usual confusion of Tahitian and Tongan materials, it is likely that seven of the Leverian Museum panpipes were Tongan. One of these can be traced to the collection now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (fig. 12)[9], D and one is now in the London School of Economics (fig. 13) D while neither the one illustrated by Stone nor the other four possible ones have as yet been located (Kaeppler, in preparation, a). It is impossible to state with certainty from which voyage the Tongan panpipes from the Leverian Museum derive. However, it is likely that at least the one depicted (fig. 11) D came from the second voyage because the volume of drawings in which the panpipe appears[10] seems to have been done before the return of the third voyage.

A /see p. 121--Analyst/
B /see p. 125--Analyst/
C /see p. 124--Analyst/
D /see p. 126--Analyst/

A panpipe in Richard Greene's Litchfield Museum was part of a 534 collection said to derive from Cook's voyages and given to Greene by 113 the Earls of Uxbridge and Donegall (Greene 1786: 77). It was described in a catalogue of the Museum as "a Syrinx, or Musical Instrument, composed of ten Reeds of different lengths, of the kind wherewith the God *Pan* is usually depicted" (Greene 1786: 75). This panpipe cannot be located today.

In the collection in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, which is said to derive from Cook's voyages, there are no Tongan panpipes today. However, in the 1813 catalogue of this museum we find:

> "No. 16, Two Reed Pipes from New Zealand,[11] used by the natives in their musical entertainments. The great analogy between these pipes, and the syrinx, or Pan's pipe of the ancients as well as some other similar articles used by these natives, has given rise to many speculative theories respecting their origin" (Laskey 1813: 20).

The location of this panpipe is unknown.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition (Mackrell 1886) did not include a Tongan panpipe, but it did include one from the New Hebrides. Many of the specimens from this exhibition, now in the Australian Museum, Sydney, derive from Mrs. Cook. In view of the fact that Mrs. Cook was said to have given a Tongan panpipe from her collection to Sir John Pringle (now in the Royal Scottish Museum, p. 105 above), it is unlikely that she would have had another Tongan one in her collection. This suggests that Mrs. Cook did, in fact, give the panpipe (and other objects) to Pringle and that both panpipes may be from Cook's second voyage because both Tonga and the New Hebrides were visited during that voyage.

Finally, it appears that there were no panpipes in William Bullock's Museum—there are none listed in his *Companions* or his detailed sale catalogue (Kaeppler 1974). The Cook voyage specimens in Bullock's Museum derived primarily from the third voyage.

From this summary it woul appear that Tongan panpipes were more 534 common articles of trade during Cook's second than during the third 175 voyage. While six panpipes are traceable to the second voyage, only two appear to be from the third voyage. For fourteen potential panpipes the voyage cannot be determined with certainty, but six of these

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52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

534 seem more likely to have come from the second voyage while none are
175 more likely to have come from the third voyage. One is tempted to
conclude that panpipes in Tonga were more in vogue at the time of the
second than at the time of the third voyage. (There seems to be no
reason that collectors on the second voyage would have been more
eager to collect them than collectors on the third voyage.) But in any
case, they were certainly more in vogue during Cook's voyages than
[177] later. If we are right in assuming that panpipes had been a relatively
recent importation from Fiji and played no essential part in Tongan
music, it would follow logically enough that they would have been
534 readily traded to Europeans and perhaps not replaced. In fact, there
113 are no Tongan panpipes of the nine- or ten-pipe variety in museum
collections which have documentation that would trace them to voyages
other than those of the 18th century. The four unnumbered nine- and
ten-pipe panpipes in the British Museum collection, which have no
accession information (e.g. fig. 1a and 1b), could well be some of
the missing Cook voyage specimens, such as some of the five "lost" since
the sale of the Leverian Museum.

534 Labillardière, who visited Tonga in 1792 on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage
175 in search of La Pérouse, states, "These people have invented a sort of
177 Pan's flute, which differs not from the European one, except in the
proportion of its sounds; all the tubes give full and not very extensive
notes, and the highest forms a fourth with the lowest. We purchased
several of these flutes" (1802: 168). None of these can be located.
Neither the other 18th-century European visitors to Tonga, notably
Wallis, Malaspina, Maurelle, and Wilson, nor the 17th-century visitors,
Lemaire or Tasman, describe panpipes. Even Mariner (Martin 1818),
who was in Tonga between 1806 and 1810, does not describe the panpipe in his 13 page section on music.

534 D'Urville, who visited Tonga in 1827 and 1838, depicts a panpipe (in
177 Plate 84) in the *Atlas* to his first voyage; however, he does not seem to
refer to it in the text (1830—1833). The panpipe depicted is unlike any
known Tongan ones in almost all respects--it has seven pipes in a
graduated arrangement with straight tops and broken bottoms which are
lashed differently than any known Tongan panpipes. I think it can
reasonably be assumed that D'Urville did not see one on the voyage.
[113] Because much of D'Urville's information comes from accounts of earlier

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52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

voyagers, and especially as there was no panpipe in Caen[12] or La 534 Rochelle—two collections known to contain objects from his voyage - 177 this depiction is best disregarded. 113

A number of panpipes, presumably also from Tonga, with only five 534 (or six) pipes is also found in museum collections. Two are in the Brit- 113 ish Museum, one from H. M. S. *Herald* (fig. 1 d)[A] and one which came into the collection in 1876. Another is in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (fig. 5 a),[B] in the original collection formed by General Pitt Rivers. There are two in the Peabody Museum, Salem, both from the 1908 Weld accession. One of these was purchased from Oldman (fig. 14)[C] and one (with six pipes) comes from the Hill collection (fig. 15).[C] The only collection data we have on any of these smaller panpipes state that one was collected on H. M. S. *Herald*, a ship that was engaged in survey work in the Fiji Islands and the Pacific in 1852—1859.[13] There is no evidence that this panpipe, or any of the five- or six-pipe variety, was actually collected in Tonga, and they may have been identified as Tongan by museum curators because of their double-beveled blowing end. The longest pipes of these five- or six-pipe panpipes range in size from 5 1/2 inches to 12 3/4 inches. The longest pipes in the nine- or ten-pipe panpipes range from 7 1/4 inches to 14 inches. Only nine- and ten-pipe specimens are found in the 18th century Tongan collections, and it would appear that the five- or six-pipe variety simply represents a smaller, more easily manufactured post-European style (if, indeed, they are Tongan).

Early writers on the subject of Tongan panpipes were of the opinion 534 that the pipes were "placed promiscuously" (Forster 1777, Book II: 533 456) or without regular progression (Beaglehole 1967, Part 2: 940). Hiroa felt that the pipes were "not placed haphazard, but according to a definite scale that Anderson or some other musician could work if the instruments were available for testing" (1941: 176). Söderström, however, seemed unhappy about the experiments by a musician on the Stockholm panpipe (Söderström 1939: 44). Testing these today is rather unsatisfactory because many of the pipes are broken or cracked and the pitches are barely distinguishable. Fortunately, Joshua Steele, who was asked by the Royal Society to examine the Furneaux and Banks panpipes in 1774—1775, was a musician. He notated the sounds he obtained by blowing them in the same way "as people use to whistle in the pipe

A /see p. 121--Analyst/
B /see p. 123--Analyst/
C /see p. 127--Analyst/

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534 565 [287] [517] as a woman beating tapa in one house will join her rhythm to that of the women beating tapa in houses around her. Aesthetic complexity by the addition of parts which in themselves were simple was encouraged by the social structure (rather than a complexity achieved by a more specialized individual). The complex and interesting musical product required the participation of several unspecialized individuals, who by their very participation sanctioned the stratified social system. The panpipe made it possible for one person to emulate this musical conception and thus use a similar kind of music in a nonchiefly or individual context.

534 175 The second line of evidence follows from the relative number of panpipes and noseflutes over time using specimens in museum collections for which the provenance is known. As shown above, panpipes were relatively abundant during the second voyage of Captain Cook. Others can be traced to Cook's third voyage and there is mention in Labillardière. In the 19th century they disappear from the record except for the five-pipe variety which may, by that time, have become mainly a ● [113] toy. On the other hand, Tongan noseflutes, whose provenance is Cook's second voyage, are at the most only four in number (Oxford, Göttingen, and two depicted in Volume I of the Stone drawings from the Leverian Museum, one of which is now in Vienna [Kaeppler, in preparation, a]). One can be traced to Cook's third voyage (Berne), and for one the voyage cannot be determined (Vienna). All six of these have the placement of holes distinctive of early Tongan noseflutes, i.e., three holes on the upper surface of the flute (one near each end and one at the middle), one hole on the under side (opposite the middle hole), and one hole on each side surface of the flute (one between the middle and nose hole and one between the middle and end hole)[20]; see figs. 10 and 16 $\hat{A}$ [531] left. Often they were beautifully decorated with geometric designs and occasionally wrapped with braided coconut fiber. This small number of examples suggests that they may, indeed, have been used mainly in the service of chiefs and there were not many superfluous ones around. Webber made a drawing of a man playing a noseflute but he did not make a drawing of a panpipe in use. This may be because he usually depicted the affairs of chiefs, or he did not see a panpipe being played, or he did not consider it important.

534 Tongan noseflutes in museum collections that do not come from

$\hat{A}$ /see pp. 125 and 127--Analyst/

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 It is hoped that this discussion will encourage dialogue on the potential usefulness of objects now found mainly in the storerooms of museums and all but unknown in their countries of origin.

NOTES

101 122 * Research in the Tongan Islands was carried out for one and a half years in 1964—1967 supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Research on ethnographic collections and documents in museums and libraries was carried out in 1969—1972, supported by grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Arts. To these institutions I wish to
122 express my appreciation. I also wish to thank Barbara B. Smith, Dieter Christensen, Mervyn McLean, and Richard Moyle for helpful comments on the manuscript and to acknowledge permission to publish the following photographs British Museum, figs. 1 and 2; Royal Scottish Museum, fig. 5; Pitt Rivers Museum, fig. 6; Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, fig. 7; Museo Nazionale de Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, fig. 8; Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, fig. 9; Bernisches Historisches Museum, fig. 10; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, figs. 12 and 16; London School of Economics, fig. 13; Peabody Museum, Salem, figs. 14 and 15; and Bishop Museum, figs. 3, 4, 11 and 17.

534 171 114 1. The earliest panpipes from Samoa that I have been able to locate were accessioned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in 1886. These two panpipes have five and seven pipes in graduated series, are beveled on one side only, and are provenanced to Tutuila.

534 535 171 177 2. Bamboo stamping tubes have also been reported for Uvea and Futuna, but it is likely that they were used in conjunction with musical types that diffused from Fiji or Tonga. In view of this, stamping tubes in Hawaii are clearly a problem, but it could well be that they are post-European.

534 113 3. It would be illuminating to know who on the second voyage gave the panpipe to Banks. According to Rienits and Rienits (who used an illustration of this panpipe, 1968: 118), it "was given to Cook as a present and taken home by him". However, there is no evidence for this supposition — they were probably simply misled by the "Cook coll." label.

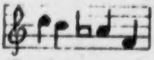
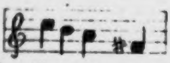
4. The attributions in the early manuscript catalogue in Berlin are not always reliable, however, and lacking independent documentation, these panpipes cannot be definitely ascribed to Forster (see Kaeppler 1974). The panpipes cannot be located and may have been destroyed during the war.

5. The manuscript list is in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. (Misc. Ms. 1169), while an explanation of the purpose of the list is in a letter from George Forster to Fabroni in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. 534 113
6. The origin of the Florence Cook collection is still a mystery, but I suggest that it came from the Forsters, the sale of the Leverian Museum (see Kaeppler, in preparation, a), and perhaps others such as James Burney.
7. I am indebted to Ruth Dawson for this reference.
8. Humphrey's manuscript catalogue was made available through the courtesy of Manfred Urban, Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, who is currently preparing the Göttingen Cook voyage collections for publication. The pipes in both of the Göttingen panpipes are not in the correct order and must have been taken apart and put back together in a more graduated arrangement. The Forster panpipe in the Göttingen collection was referred to by Fischer (1958: 58), who notes that there was something uncommon in the instrument.
9. Some of the pipes are missing from this panpipe, see note 17.
10. This sketchbook is in the Australian Museum, Sydney.
11. The attribution to New Zealand must be incorrect.
12. The collection in Caen was destroyed during World War II. However, a list of objects was published in 1880 (Anon. 562--564). [177]
13. N. E. Upham, National Maritime Museum, personal communication.
14. "Besides the above mentioned tones, if the velocity of the breath be increased a little, the five first pipes will give octaves to the fundamentals; and if farther increased, sharp thirds, or tierces, above these octaves. In the pipes 6, 7, 8, and 9, I could neither make the octaves to the fundamentals, nor the sharp tierces; but in their stead, the minor, or flat-third, above the octave came, when the breath was urged beyond the degree requisite to produce the fifth. This minor third is an accident out of the natural order of tones produced from simple tubes, which I do not pretend to account for." p. 69. 534 533
15. "The sounds which each pipe exhibits easily, are marked in minims" (p. 74), i.e.,
16. The pipe numbering in this section follows that in fig. 4. A
17. This can be seen even in the incomplete Vienna panpipe (fig. 12). According to Moschner the pitches are as depicted from left to right, c, b, ab, b, c, eb, (Moschner 1955: 239). However, as the lengths of the two "c" pipes are different, it is apparent that the left "c" pipe is part of another 4-pipe group of slightly lower pitch. It is also apparent that the 7th pipe from the left on the Forster panpipe (fig. 6b) B is broken and should be slightly longer than the 3rd pipe from the left, and that the first and sixth pipes of the Wörlitz instrument are "missing". (see Germer, 1971: 81). Given this information it is now possible to arrange the pipes of those instruments that are broken or have been taken apart in the past into their "correct" order. I have

A /see p. 122--Analyst/
B /see p. 123--Analyst/

done this with the Florence panpipes (fig. 8), but the Göttingen panpipes 534
(fig. 7 ^are still incorrect. 533

18. That these pipes are in fact "decorative" can only be inferred by analogy (see Kaeppler, in press). No living Tongans have precise knowledge of panpipes nor is there any written description of the panpipe musical system from the Tongan point of view.
19. Two noseflutes in Bishop Museum produce the following pitches

 and 

(Strobaccon reading for the latter is C-15, B-33, A-49, F-40) and many noseflutes approximate this tuning. Noseflutes were not really "tuned", but the holes were placed by rough measuring and "by eye": it is unlikely that the pitches on any two instruments would be exactly the same.
20. Tongan noseflutes can be played from either end, therefore this terminology is used only for convenience. Some players prefer one end to the other, but it is possible to play them from either end. 534
21. For more information on these specimens, see Appendix I in Kaeppler, in prep. c.

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^ /see p. 124--Analyst/

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557 For example, the strategy of a village resident who desires to leave
his *fonua* for a modern sector may be to minimize (but not negate)
his obligations, encompassed in his *fonua* statuses toward fellow villagers
and his noble, while maximizing (to the extent that he can, given his
557 set of ranked kin statuses) his returns in his family estate. Ironically,
612 although individual social mobility in the context of development and
modernization has often been associated with the freeing of the individual from the stifling bonds of traditional obligation and responsibility to the group, the possibility of individual mobility in Tonga from traditional life centered in village social structure depends upon the continued vigorous operation of traditional obligations in the structure
557 of the family estate. Furthermore, the possibility of mobility in individual cases is significantly influenced by one's favorable or unfavorable
612 position in a family estate, in turn dependent upon the configuration
554 of economic transactions among ranked kinsmen. Once outside the
village, the strategic problem for an individual who still remains in the family estate (some of course do define themselves out of rights and obligations and consequently out of their family estates) is to exploit the advantages of his situation in a modern sector while still fulfilling
121 the obligations implied by his ranked kin statuses. This example has
dealt briefly with the 'development-minded' individual; persons with other motivations would be analyzed in terms of other strategies for integrating the same sets of statuses.

It has been demonstrated that although a generalized 'concern for rank' in interactions is certainly an important aspect of modern Tongan society, it is by no means pervasive. One must be able to distinguish between the generalized awareness at all levels of the importance of ranking in a highly stratified society from the actual use or non-use of particular culturally defined concepts of rank in the structuring of interpersonal relations. Paradoxically, traditional ranking concepts appear to be of less importance in structuring interpersonal relations among commoners in the locus of traditional Tongan life, the village, than in the locus of current economic and social development, the family estate.

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(with abbreviations used in the Introduction and Notes)

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Journal	Holograph MS journal in British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, Egerton MS 2177A. Fragment of holograph MS log, continuation of journal, Egerton MS 2177B. The text here printed.
Log Log Adm 55/111 Log Adm 55/112	Copy by *Resolution*'s clerk of Cook's 'Log and Proceedings', from which the Journal was adapted, 10 February 1776–27 November 1778; in P.R.O., Adm 55/111–112.
Log Log Adm 55/113	Part of second copy by *Resolution*'s clerk of Cook's 'Log and Proceedings', 26 April 1778–6 January 1779; in P.R.O., Adm 55/113.

II. *Other MS Logs and Journals kept in the* Resolution *or* Discovery, *or later MSS*

Anderson	Journal of William Anderson, surgeon *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 51/4560/203–4.
Bayly	Log and journal of William Bayly, astronomer *Discovery*, in P.R.O., Adm 55/20.
Bayly T	Log of William Bayly, in Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Bayly JT	Journal of William Bayly, in Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
Bligh AL	Marginal notes by William Bligh, master *Resolution*, in the Admiralty Library (London) copy of *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* by Cook and King.
Burney	Journal of James Burney, 1st lieutenant *Discovery*, in P.R.O., Adm 51/4528/45.
Burney M	Journal of James Burney, in Mitchell Library, Sydney.
Charlton	Journal of William Charlton, midshipman *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 51/4557/191–3.
Clerke	Journal of Charles Clerke, commander *Discovery*, in P.R.O., Adm 55/22–3 (to 12 February 1779). Journal of Charles Clerke as commander *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 51/4561/217 (14 February–24 May 1779). Journal of Charles Clerke, in P.R.O., Adm 55/124 (17 June–26 July 1779).

[pp i-xxii not processed]

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Edgar	Journal of Thomas Edgar, master *Discovery*, in British Museum, Dept. of Manuscripts, Add. MS 37528.
Edgar log	Log of Thomas Edgar, in P.R.O., Adm 55/21, 24.
Gilbert	'Journal' of George Gilbert, midshipman *Resolution*, in British Museum, Dept. of Manuscripts, Add. MS 38530.
Gore	Log of John Gore, 1st lieutenant *Resolution* (to 14 February 1779); commander *Discovery* (14 February–23 August 1779); commander *Resolution* from 24 August 1779; in P.R.O., Adm 55/120, 51/4532/49.
Griffin	'Short narrative' of William Griffin, A.B., cooper and ship's corporal *Resolution*, in Dixson Library, Sydney.
Harvey	Log of William Harvey, master's mate *Resolution*, midshipman *Discovery*, 3rd lieutenant *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 55/110, 121.
Home Home Ottihiti Home Kamchatka	Fragments of a journal by Alexander Home, master's mate *Discovery*, in National Library of Australia, Canberra.
King	Log and Proceedings of James King, 2nd lieutenant and later 1st lieutenant *Resolution*, commander *Discovery* from 22 August 1779; in P.R.O., Adm 55/116, 122.
King D	Portion of Log and Proceedings of James King, with variant readings, in Dixson Library, Sydney.
Law	Journal fragment of John Law, surgeon *Discovery* and later *Resolution*, in British Museum, Dept. of Manuscripts, Add. MS 37327.
Martin	Journal of John Henry Martin, midshipman *Discovery* and master's mate *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 51/4531/47.
Midshipman Adm 55/123	Log of an anonymous midshipman, 1778–9, in P.R.O., Adm 55/123.
Penrose, *Memoirs*	*Memoirs of James Trevenen*. By C. V. Penrose. MSS in Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, and National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
Portlock	Log of Nathaniel Portlock, master's mate *Discovery*, later of *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 51/4531/67–9, and Adm 51/4532/70.
Riou	Log of Edward Riou, midshipman *Discovery*, later of *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 51/4529/41–4.
Roberts	Log of Henry Roberts, master's mate *Resolution*, in Dixson Library, Sydney.
Samwell	Journal of David Samwell, surgeon's first mate *Resolution*, later surgeon *Discovery*, in British Museum, Dept. of Manuscripts, Egerton MS 2591.

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Taylor	Log of William Taylor, A.B. and later midshipman *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 51/4561/216.
Trevenen	Marginal annotations by James Trevenen, midshipman *Resolution*, in a copy of the *Voyage*, Vols. II and III, transcribed in a document in the Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C.
Watts	Journal of 'Proceedings' of John Watts, midshipman, A.B., midshipman *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 51/4559/212.
Williamson	Log and Proceedings of John Williamson, 3rd lieutenant *Resolution*, in P.R.O., Adm 55/117.
Adm 55/114	Anonymous log of a midshipman, possibly Trevenen, in P.R.O., Adm 55/114 (continued in Adm 55/123).

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[*Cook's Journals*,] I, II.	*The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, edited by J. C. Beaglehole. I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour, *1768–1771*. Cambridge, 1955. II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Adventure, *1772–1775*. Cambridge, 1961.
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marriage was a function of rank and a political move to prevent the interference of kainga status principles at the societal level, and to assure that the offspring would have the highest possible rank within a certain line. 554 565 [581]

26. A chief's "people" are called his *kainga*, even though they are not related to him by traceable blood ties. [582]

27. In discussions about rank Tongans often use a statement such as "X must be lower than Y because he cooked at Z's funeral."

28. For example, Tuita operated on this occasion as a *mātapule*, even though he outranks many of the chiefs in class ranking. [276] [574]

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538 tions such as the dedication of a new church, or as a welcome to visiting dignitaries.
535 As in any living dance tradition, the forms of dance in Tonga have changed. The
[527] poetry which dance accompanies, however, still makes reference to the same or similar themes: cosmology; legendary origin of monuments, tombs, and fabulous ships; heroes and beautiful women; sacred animals; and stories associated with outstanding local events. The performances serve the chiefs today just as they have always done—to honor and entertain them, and to demonstrate the allegiance of their subjects. As long as the present social system of Tonga remains, dances of this type will no doubt continue to be created and performed.

NOTES

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[1] Presented at the Eleventh Pacific Science Congress of the Pacific Science Association, held at the University of Tokyo, Japan, August–September, 1966, and organized by the Science Council of
[122] Japan. Research in the Tonga Islands was supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-FI-MH-25, 984–02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. I also wish to acknowledge Katherine Luomala, Penieli Fisi'hoi, and Genevieve Highland for reviewing the manuscript; and Alan Howard, who directed my graduate program.

113 [2] Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 49–52.

[3] E. E. V. Collocott and John Havea, *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans*, Bishop Museum Occasional Papers VIII (Honolulu, 1922), 48.

[4] Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Society*, Bishop Museum Bulletin 61 (Honolulu, 1929), 142, 233–234.

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62: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9
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been in general use in pre-European times (wooden headrests, for example) 172
have been generally replaced by Western imports (pillows in this case). Many 565
chiefs, however, still make use of the traditional objects, especially on ceremonial [177]
occasions (such as weddings when wooden headrests are part of the necessary
presentations).[12] Perhaps by the eighteenth century only the highest chiefs made [178]
use of pottery, and the few pots needed were not manufactured in Tonga but
came from Fiji.

Some of the pottery-bearing areas were visited by Cook, who collected two 172
pots at Amsterdam (Tongatapu) on his second voyage.[13] On his third voyage 177
Cook met the Tamahā Moungalakepa and her brother Latunipulu and it is 113
conceivable that Cook received pots from them.[14] One of these pots eventually 323
reached England and became part of Sir Ashton Lever's Museum.[15] This pot
was purchased at the dispersal of the Leverian Museum in 1806 by a Mr Atkinson
as part of lot 4441, "... baked earthen bottle, New Amsterdam."[16] Although I
have found other items purchased by Atkinson, I have not yet found his Tongan
pot. There is a chance, however, that this eighteenth-century Tongan pot still
exists and will eventually help to settle the question regarding Tongan v.
Fijian manufacture of pottery during the eighteenth century.[17]

In a recent publication, Bulmer has concisely described the role of ethnography 172
in reconstructing the prehistory of Melanesia[18] and has encouraged ethnographers 121
and ethnohistorians to provide more useful data. A similar need exists
for Polynesian ethnographers to make their relevant material available for use
by archaeologists and prehistorians. Archaeologists who have worked in Tonga
have made some use of the ethnohistoric information, but more creative use of
this information, as well as ethnographic data, might contribute to a resolution
of the divergent explanations existing in the present interpretations in the Tongan
prehistoric sequence. Green, for example, explains the lack of pottery in certain 172
areas by a long aceramic horizon,[19] while Golson and Poulsen, basing their
explanation on a series of radiocarbon dates, had come to the opposite conclusion
that pottery was made for the total span of Tongan prehistory and up to the
period of European contact.[20] Green supports his view with the logical assumption
that if pottery were present in the historic and protohistoric period, it would
be mentioned in Tongan traditions.[21] However, an examination of such traditional
material shows that mention of material culture of any kind is very rare
except for what Tongans consider *koloa* (valuables), namely mats and barkcloth
that are given on ceremonial occasions. Golson and Poulsen now would appear
to agree with Groube that C^{14} dates do not necessarily date pottery found in the
same levels.[22] Groube explains the distribution of pottery sites on ecological

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12. At the time of European contact wooden headrests were elaborate and varied but by the twentieth century, when they were used mainly by chiefs, only two simple types survived.
13. Beaglehole, 1961:265.
14. Anderson (Beaglehole, 1967:942) and Samwell (Beaglehole, 1967:1037) both mention seeing pottery.
15. It is more likely that the Leverian pot came from 3rd voyage (see Force, Force & Kaeppler, in preparation).
16. Leverian Museum, 1806:207.
17. The eighteenth century pot depicted in Labillardière is clearly a Fijian pot (1802, plate 31). It is difficult to tell whether the globular object depicted in Tasman's journal (Sharp, 1968:161) is a Fijian-style pot or a coconut water container.
18. Bulmer, 1971.
19. Green, 1972:83.
20. Golson, 1971:74.
21. Green, personal communication.
22. Golson, personal communication.

62: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) OU9 Tonga OU9
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172 considerations and late colonisation of the islands north of Tongatapu.[23]
However, the abundance of pottery on Tungua does not seem to support this
172 view. I suggest, instead, that the seemingly erratic distribution of pottery in time
and space as well as its quality and quantity can be explained only by appealing
121 to non-archaeological data and especially to social structure. I, for one, will
not be convinced of the accuracy of archaeological explanations for Tonga until
the relationships between social structure and material culture consumption
patterns are taken into account.

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[23] Groube, 1971:303–304.

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"with parental affection" (1810:111), or Mariner, who reported that Finau 557
Ulukalala was considered to be his own "father and protector" (1817:1: p.90 and p. 553
310). A later paper is planned. 597

8. Adoptions and arranged marriages for political reasons had always existed in the 609
indigenous system and with the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries this did not
change. The missionaries knew about the arranged marriages but they could not do 597
anything to stop them (or would not do anything to stop them) for they were too 581
much a part of Tongan life. One missionary, on a visit in 1850 (he had also been in 797
the archipelago from 1822-1823) wrote that such "state unions" were made
"merely to promote caste" and that this was a "thing which ought to be destroyed"
(W. Lawry *Journal* entry of June 15, 1850), but it was not.

9. Additional research might reveal further forms of aboriginal adoption transactions. 597
Collocott refers to Tungimana'ia as being "fakatakatuu" to a particular *Tu'i* 554
Ha'ateiho (Collocott n.d. p. 258) or *fakatakaua* which is "like or pertaining to a 428
constant companion" (Churchward 1959:102). The record suggests that this may
have been a "more intense" form of *ohi* since a son of an adopted son succeeded to
a title – that is, the title did not revert as in an *ohi* transaction (compare Gifford
[1929:137]). Companionship, group membership, or group enlargement, are all
subject to further research and debate in the context of adoption and the *ha'a*.

10. Unfortunately, this important distinction of pre-1875 Tonga and post-1875 is often 642
overlooked in the literature (see, for example, Kaeppler 1971). For specific 571
statements on changes in rank and status acquisition procedures due to the 554
Constitution of 1875 see Urbanowicz (1973/74). 178

11. The Constitution also resulted in other problems concerning titles: prior to the Constitution no man could hold more than one title, since the title holder was responsible to (and for) a particular group of people; now, as a result of the Constitution, there are men holding two titles. Most notable of these is the Honorable *Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili*. (The double title of *Ulukalala-Ata* is currently vacant). What the holding of double titles means is that a further gulf has been injected into the relationship between titled and non-titled individuals. A person with two titles has to divide his time (and obligations) between two different groups of people. This would not have been so prior to 1875.

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this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has 121
shifted. 276
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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting of the 121
Association for Socail Anthropology in Oceania (March 13-17, 1974) for a
Symposium on "Alcohol and Kava Use in the Pacific Islands." Research was 186
conducted in Tonga from July to October of 1970 and from August to October of 574
1971. In the intervening months archival research was conducted in the major
libraries of Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia, with most of the research being done in 276
the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
2. There is at least one other alcohol-dispensing club in the Kingdom, namely the [101]
"Vava'u Club" in Vava'u. Since my work in Tonga a new hotel has opened in Vava'u, [127]
and alcohol prices probably follow the prices of the hotels on Tongatapu. It should
be pointed out that in 1970 and 1971 the various clubs and hotels were selling 275
beverages in obvious violation of Tonga's "Blue Laws" which (theoretically) forbid 273
essentially all non-religious business activities on Sundays.
3. For further information on rank and title see Urbanowicz 1973:114. 795
4. Tongans not only presented *kava* roots to important individuals but also took *kava* [527]
roots on visits to important places. The Wesleyan Missionary W. Cross, in the islands
from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835, pointed this out: "The [Tongan] [656]
Chief observed that on former occasions when they visited and [*sic.*] island it was
their custom to take large pieces of *kava* for the gods; and that to Nomuka alone they 276
used to take at least 10 pieces" (Cross 1830b).
5. A similar detailed description from Hobbs supports the idea of title removal and land 574
distribution at a kava ceremony: "A 'fai Kava' i.e. meeting for drinking Kava took 554
place at Nuku'alofa on Tuesday the 18th at which [Jiosaia] Tubou presided of 113 ●
course as the Tui-kanokubolu. Taufa-ahou [also known as King George Tupou] and
all the other principal persons were there, and word was sent to Lavaka at the Bea to 276
come and attend before our people and Taufa-ahou left the Island, but Lavaka [still]
refused. The ceremony therefore proceeded without Lavaka. THE PRINCIPAL 574
OBJECT OF THE KAVA MEETING WAS TO STATE OFFICIALLY FROM THE 609
TUI-KANOKUBOLU WHO WAS THE[N] [TO] OCCUPY THE GOVERNMENT IN
THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN TONGA since the rebellion: and the principal
things affected by this appointment are as follows: Old Fatu who was the Ist heathen 425
[or non-Wesleyan] chief who submitted, and who had now come to Nukualofa to the 276
Tui-kanokubolu has got a considerable augmentation of his power in being appointed
Tui-Hahake. OLD LAVAKA IS OFFICIALLY DEPRIVED OF ALL HIS POWER BY 574
THE APPOINTMENT OF OLD SEMI AND FOKE as Tuihaamea. because the fortress 684
at the Bea stands in Haamea" [all STRESS added] (Hobbs *Journal*: April 22, 1837).
6. I witnessed a *Taumafa kava* ceremony on the island of 'Eua over the period 558
14 September to 17 September, 1971, having travelled to the island with the royal
part on *H.M.V. Kao.* Enroute to 'Eua from the island of Tongatapu, a journey of 651
some four hours, I was fortunate to have approximately a three hour and forty-five 178
minute private discussion with His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (on just about
everything under the Tongan sun, including *kava*). Much of my thinking about *kava* 543
has been influenced by my discussions with His Majesty AS WELL AS by numerous 643
discussions with other Tongans, of all ranks. I also took part in numerous kava 123
ceremonies in Tonga occasionally where I was treated as the guest of honor.
7. The *'inasi* ceremony was not only an important ceremony in aboriginal Tongan 115
society but it also had parallels in other parts of Polynesia (Goldman 1970:134; and 276
Sahlins 1958:24-25). The Tongans were a horticultural people and indeed, today, 574
agriculture along with "tourism" are the mainstays of the Tongan economy. The yam

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64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

or *'ufi* was the main crop and W. Cross wrote "the yam is a vegetable that is to the
651 inhabitants of Tonga, what bread is to many in our native land" (Cross 1830a). The
649 aboriginal Tongan names of the respective parts of the year were based on the lunar
month and thirteen separately designated time periods (Dyson *Papers 1858-1908:*
776 April 7, 1863). These names clearly show the importance of the yam to the Tongans
782 and Thomas wrote that the month of June was termed "Hilinga kelekele" by the
Tongans and that "they expect the soil to produce forth now" and of the yams at
241 this time of the year that they are "the earliest and the best yams." For the month of
805 October, Thomas wrote "Ooloo enga – Uluega" which is *'Ulenga* for "ooloo, the
head, enga yellow" and at this time the yams "became yellow" (Thomas 1827:no
page).

643 8. This same aspect of a "dual installation" also took place when His Majesty's mother,
Queen Salote Tupou III, was installed as Queen in 1918 (after the death of her father,
276 King George Tupou II). As Collocott pointed out: "a coronation ceremony in the
European model was followed by a native installation with appropriate kava
574 ceremony on the mala'e at Nuku'alofa" (1927:38).
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12. Some 24% of the household heads interviewed in 1963-4 in a sample survey were employed by government or the commodity boards and a further 19% had close relations in non-labouring government or board jobs. It appears reasonable to assume that over one-quarter of Nuku'alofa's male workers are employed in this way. 464 162

13. Employment figures alone are an insufficient criterion for determining "urban" and "rural" in the Pacific. This is demonstrated by comparing selected employments from "urban" Nuku'alofa with similar employments from "rural" Arorangi described by Bassett in the present volume. 464 369 171

	Nuku'alofa 1956 (males 20-59)	Arorangi 1961 (males over 15 years)
Agriculture, Planting and Fishing	46.3	52
Industrial	6.3	6
Trade & Communications	5.2	5
Commerce & Finance	5.6	6
Public Administration & Professions	9.7	8

14. Spillius, 1959(B). 113

15. Gifford, E.W., 1929, "Tongan Society", Bernice P. Bishop Mus. Bulletin, 61: 171, refers to a description of Tonga as "a fully feudal society (in which the) head of the clan has become a landlord".

16. For an historical account see Rutherford, N., 1966, Shirley Baker and the Kingdom of Tonga, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., Canberra.

17. For an elaboration of the effects of this parallelism or "dual framework of society", see Walsh, A.C., 1968, "Politics, Culture and Resource Utilisation in Tonga", Proc. 5th N.Z. Geog. Conference, 119-124. Note, however, that this paper uses the term "peasant" more loosely than the present paper.

18. Franklin, S.H., 1965, "Systems of Production: Systems of Appropriation", Pac. View., 6: 145-166.

19. Maude, 1965, p.50, writes "the traditional groupings or extended family in which married sons stayed in the households of their fathers is no longer the usual form". The modern nuclear family, however, still retains intimate contact with at least 50 relations according to Spillius, 1959(B), and urban families probably have more contacts than those in the villages. Nayacakalau, R.R., 1963, "The Urban Fijian in Suva". In A. Spoehr (ed.), Pacific Port Towns and Cities, 135, and Bellam, 1964, 142, noted similar findings in urban Suva and Honiara. 592 593 595 [369] [113] [171]

20. Franklin, 1965, 157, in defining the peasantry asks "What is their labour commitment, their institutional basis, their control and direction and their form of ownership...?" 000

000 21. Ongoongo Mei Tonga, 1968.

124 22. Much of the work in this section is based on two questionnaires conducted between August, 1963, and January, 1964. A job questionnaire involved 53 migrants working at the six largest places of employment; a household questionnaire involved 107 households (a sample of 5.4%), the method of selection being based on area and housing types. This is termed a "composite" sampling method by Chapman, M., 1962, "Sampling Methods for Geographers", Pac. View., 4: 155-162. [113]

113 23. McGee, T.G., 1964, "The Rural-Urban Continuum Debate", Pac. View., 5: 127.

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25. McGee, 1964, 166.

26. Franklin, 1965, 148.

27. Frank, G., 1966, "The Development of Underdevelopment", Monthly Review, 18: 17-31, New York.

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Holy War: Peter Dillon and the 1837 Massacres in Tonga

H. G. CUMMINS

THE POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATION OF J. W. DAVIDSON'S BOOK 'PETER DILLON 114
of Vanikoro'[1] raises again the question of the part played by the Wesleyan
missionaries in Tonga's civil conflict of 1837. Davidson's editor, Professor 669
O. H. K. Spate, believed that Davidson had not finished working on the 797
relevant section—that the draft he received for editing 'could be taken as presenting fully only the anti-mission side, which would certainly not have been Davidson's intention'. To overcome this difficulty, Spate presented 'some specific points in the Wesleyan response', but refrained from rewriting the whole section.[2] The book therefore reaches no conclusion on Dillon's allegations that the Wesleyans were deeply implicated in the 1837 war, nor on the Wesleyans' categorical denial of them. A study of the relevant evidence does, however, make it possible to form a judgement on the rights and wrongs of Dillon's charges.

The affair began in November 1837 when Dillon, then a trader-captain 669
of nearly 30 years' experience in the Pacific, paid his third visit to Tonga- 797
tapu. On his earlier visits the Tongans had been friendly and at peace. This
time they were not. There had been bloody fighting earlier in the year and, 114
from what he could ascertain, the Wesleyan missionaries had been involved. Dillon wrote to the chairman of the Tonga mission, the Rev. John Thomas, strongly condemning the missionaries for their action, and he sent a copy of his letter to the Rev. William Ellis, secretary of the London Missionary Society.[3]

Dillon charged, among other things, that the Wesleyans, especially John Thomas, converted the natives 'by setting one part on to murder the other'; that civil war was introduced by the missionaries; that they interfered
with political appointments in 1826 and 1833.[4] But Dillon's most scathing 669
criticisms, which relate specifically to the 1837 war, were that 797

> [King George] was an humble instrument of torture, death, and destruction 643
> in your hands, by whose means and bloody assistance you undertook to propa- 114

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[1] J. W. Davidson, *Peter Dillon of Vanikoro*, ed. O. H. K. Spate (Melbourne 1975). [113]

[2] Ibid., viii-ix.

[3] Peter Dillon to John Thomas, 20 Nov. 1837; Peter Dillon to William Ellis, 20 Nov. 1837. [113]
London, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Records (hereinafter WMMS) Microfilm
Canberra, National Library of Australia (hereinafter ANL), M145.

[4] Ibid.

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> 669 gate the mild doctrines of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at Tonga . . .
> 797 that you are propagating the sacred scriptures by destroying man, woman, and
> 648 child in Tonga . . . causing the assassination of innocent females–ripping
> open their bowels–the mutilating of their tender offspring &c &c

114 and that

> you assured those murderers of success, as they fought in the cause of God, who marched in their ranks, though invisible . . . you assured that monster [Tâufa'âhau, King George] that the true God marched in his ranks with the bloody banditti.

Dillon concluded his letter with the warning: 'Mr Thomas, pray bear in mind that there is a God and such places as the Old Bailey and Execution Dock'.[5]

669 This might well have been the end of the matter had not Captain Croker
797 of H.M.S. *Favourite* been killed near Nuku'alofa in 1840 while 'mediating'
648 between King George Tupou and some of his opponents. When Dillon
114 learned of the death of Croker and several of his officers and men, he wrote
an introduction to his letter of 1837 and had it published in London.[6] The
Wesleyan Missionary Society responded by ordering a committee to inquire
into his allegations. The committee, headed by the Rev. John Waterhouse,
met in Tonga in 1841 and cleared the missionaries of Dillon's charges
against them. Their vindication of Thomas was unequivocal:

> On the whole of this cause, having gone thro' each allegation carefully, and deliberately, this meeting is unanimously of opinion that a more villainous & unfounded attack was never made on the character of any Xtian minister.[7]

669 The following year the Missionary Society published David Cargill's refuta-
797 tion of Dillon's 'slanderous attacks'.[8] The matter has rested there ever
since, no attempt having been made to investigate the crucial questions:
114 What was the Wesleyan missionaries' attitude to war? Is there any truth in
Dillon's accusation that they propagated the gospel 'by destroying man,
woman, and child'? Were the Christian warriors assured that the invisible
God 'marched in their ranks'? Was Thomas personally involved in the war
in any way? Are Dillon's charges to be dismissed as a 'villainous and
unfounded attack'?

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[5] Ibid.

[113] [6] [Peter Dillon], *Letter to Richard More O'Farrell, Esq., M.P., Secretary to the Admiralty, Whitehall, London, from the Chevalier Dillon, late French Consul for the Islands in the South Seas, on the defeat of Her Majesty's Ship, Favourite, and the death of Her Commander, Captain Croker, at Tongatapu . . .* (London? 1840?).

[113] [7] WMMS District Minutes, Friendly Islands District Minutes for 1841, Appendix, Dillon Allegations, WMMS (ANL, mf M123).

[113] [8] David Cargill, *A Refutation of Chevalier Dillon's Slanderous Attacks on the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Friendly Islands* (London 1842).

WHEN the Wesleyan missionaries arrived in Tonga in the 1820s the country 669
was experiencing a period of political instability, a continuation, in fact, of
the civil strife that began in 1797. Within months of Thomas's arrival two 797
of the highest ranking chiefs—Tāufa'āhau and Laufilitonga—became embroiled [643]
in a struggle in Ha'apai which threatened the peace of the whole
group.[9] Confronted with 'wars and rumours of wars', the missionaries felt it
a duty to teach the new way—a way of love, mercy and peace. They saw the
Tongans as a warlike people, revelling in war, enjoying fighting as a pastime.[10]
But as the Christian teaching began to take root they frequently 797
noted in their reports to their superiors in London that one of the most
obvious fruits of the gospel was that the Tongans no longer cherished war.
Visitors commented on the change. Ransome, log keeper of the whaler
Elizabeth, observed that the people

> appear to have been much benefitted by the exertions of their . . . missionary Mr. Thomas—at one time they were a very warlike treacherous set, but now their manners are much altered . . . many of them brought their muskets to exchange for calico, that they may appear decently in church.[11]

When a new chapel was opened in Ha'apai in the 30s, the missionary present
at the festivities wrote enthusiastically that the king and people desired 'to
learn war no more'. As proof of this change of heart Charles Tucker told [411]
how the king had given a number of clubs and spears from which the [346]
communion rail for the new chapel had been fashioned.[12] Other new chapels
were decorated with former weapons of war, and David Cargill pointed out [782]
that 'walking sticks made from these weapons are very common'.[13] [481]

Two outbreaks of hostilities early in the mission's history, one in 1831
and the other in 1833, were settled without loss of blood, and the mission- 797
aries were quick to point out that the new Christian attitude which was
responsible for the bloodlessness of the fighting stood in marked contrast to 669
the brutality of the former era. Describing the events which followed the
destruction of the rebel fort in Vava'u in 1831, Turner noted: 797

> The captive party were expecting to share the same fate [as the ill-fated 669
> fortress], and Finau seemed wishful to make an example of the ring leaders 797
> but King Geo. had begun to feel some little of the principles of Christianity

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[9] John Thomas, Journal, 25 Aug. 1826, 26-27 Oct. 1826, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[10] James Watkin, draft of article for *Methodist Magazine*, 30 Sept. 1833, Sydney, Mitchell Library (hereinafter ML), James Watkin Papers, A1540. Peter Turner, Journal, 23 June 1833, ML, B301. [113]

[11] H. Ransome, Log Book of the Whaling Ship *Elizabeth*, 26 Feb. 1832, 28 Mar. 1832, MLA1481. [113]

[12] Tucker to Secretaries of the WMMS, 17 Sept. 1835. *Papers Relative to Wesleyan Missions*, LXXV (1838). [113]

[13] David Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817. [113]

797 who loves its enemies—he therefore would not hear of any being put to
death.[14]

669 A similar act of clemency was shown after the fall of the rebel stronghold
727 at 'Uiha in 1833, when the resident missionary noted with pride: 'The
business of reducing the people who have so long opposed, has been accomplished without loss of life. For which I am thankful.'[15] Thomas, in writing to the Committee about the changed state of affairs in Tonga, used a military image, pointing out that '*now* they are soldiers in the army of Jesus'.[16]

797 Undoubtedly Christian teaching played a significant role in introducing
and inculcating the new attitudes and standards of behaviour. In the
577 mission's extensive school system, which catered for adults as well as children,
872 there was a frequent emphasis upon the importance of living in friendship
and fellowship. 'Fellowship is a good thing' *Ko e Motua Lea* taught in two
797 of its five lessons; hatred was a bad thing when directed towards other people,
577 but men should hate lies and evil speaking. In this early book the Devil
872 was the only enemy.[17] Other books taught love and forgiveness as part of the
779 Christian ethic.[18] *Koe Tohi Ako* (The School Book), which contained the
Lord's Prayer with its teaching on forgiveness, taught that a loving good natured attitude should be adopted 'to all people'.[19] The Catechism (*Fehui moe Tala*) approached this area by asking a question about man's responsibility to his fellows, to which the answer was given: 'Righteousness is to obey my parents, and be respectful to my relatives . . . do good, love and be forgiving to all people'.[20]

Biblical stories which illustrated the forgiving and loving virtues of Christianity were provided in Book 5, which contained the parables of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, and the Elder Brother.[21] These parables stressed the responsibility of Christians to show love, concern and forgiveness towards those who had wronged them. Book 10, a translation of the *Wesleyan Rules of Society*, urged members of society to avoid fighting, quarrelling and brawling, exhorting them instead to seek to do good to all men, especially those in need of any kind.[22] Above all else there was the constant theme of God's love for all men, made known to the world through

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[113] [14] Peter Turner, Journal, 21 Aug. 1831, ML, B301.

[113] [15] James Watkin, Journal, 26 Mar. 1833, ML, A834.

[113] [16] Thomas to Secretaries, 17 Dec. 1831, WMMS Inward Correspondence (ANL, mf M143).

[113] [17] *Ko e Motua Lea* (Nuku'alofa 1831), p 3, lessons 1, 2 and 5.

[113] [18] See e.g. *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala Mei he Uluaki Folofola a e Otua* (Tongataboo Feb. 1834); *Ko e Gaahi Lesoni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo June 1832).

[113] [19] *Ko e Tohi Ako* (Tongataboo, second ed. 1835), p 4, lesson ix.

[113] [20] *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala* (Tongataboo 1831), Section 5, Question 45.

[113] [21] *Ko e Gaahi lesoni eni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo 1832), pp 3-4, 5-9.

[113] [22] *Ko e Ahonaki ki he kakai Lotu Fehui* (Tongataboo 1834), p 2-3.

~~the person~~ of Jesus Christ.[23] At least one missionary devised a novel method 797
of teaching against 'some of the prevailing evils and their consequences'. 577
James Watkin's catechism, used on Sundays and almost certainly in the 872
schools, included the following questions and answers: 779

Who are they who love war?
Answer: The true sons of the Devil.
Who are they that seek war?
Answer: Wild beasts thirsting for blood.[24]

Before 1833, therefore, there was nothing in missionary teaching to encourage a warlike spirit. In fact the reverse was true, and almost all the reading material used in school and church was designed to stimulate loving, forgiving, friendly relationships.[25] Cargill's view was that 'the prophecies of the Bible are being fulfilled. The heathen are forgetting the art of war, and learning the gospel of peace.'[26]

And yet the 30s saw a broadening and an intensification of opposition 797
from the Tongatapu chiefs who had resisted the *lotu* (i.e. Christianity) from
the beginning. The baptism, in the early 30s, of Tupou of Tonga, 798
Tāufa'āhau of Ha'apai, and 'Ulukālala of Vava'u gave impetus to the anti- 669
lotu party who began to persecute Christians and to disrupt services of 643
worship. By January 1834 relations between the two parties became strained 634
almost to breaking point, and Tāufa'āhau and a large band of warriors sailed to Tongatapu to support Tupou. Their arrival was awe-inspiring—some 50 large double canoes sailing to anchor, 'each one beating his lali'. Thomas was impressed: 'Such a sight has never been witnessed at Tonga for many years. Indeed I question whether Tonga ever witnessed such a scene since it was a land.'[27]

For almost a month the contingent from the north made a show of force for Tupou and Christianity and their presence ensured at least a momentary peace, although rumours of war were upon many lips. 'This island is quite a stir', wrote Thomas, 'and all the talk is about fighting with the king of the Vava'u and Haabai islands'.[28] Thomas was at the farewell kava ceremony before Tāufa'āhau sailed back to Ha'apai, and he could not help noticing the open parading of weapons. Tāufa'āhau had 'a large club and a gun'

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[23] See lesson books nos 1-6.

[24] Watkin, Journal, 1 Dec. 1832, ML, A834. 113

[25] See e.g. Nathaniel Turner, *First Lessons in the Language of Tongataboo* (Sydney 1828); 113
Ko e Motua Lea (Tongataboo 1831, 1834, 1840), reading lessons 1, 2 and 3.

[26] Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817. 113

[27] Thomas, Journal, 27 Feb., 3, 30 Mar. 1834, ANL, mf M160. The *lali* referred to is a 113
wooden drum.

[28] Ibid., 10 Mar. 1834. 534

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797 beside him, and 'many of his people were sitting about, or near him, all
[798] armed, and on the lookout for the foe'.[29]
The religious revival which broke out in the northern islands a few
[669] months later further inflamed the already excited and tense atmosphere.[30]
The revival swept the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups and thousands were
deeply affected. All normal activities came to a halt, work ceased, classes
were abandoned, and prayer meetings and services were held throughout the
day and evening.[31] It was, as one missionary put it, 'a week of Sabbaths'. Of
all the islands in the group, only Tongatapu was relatively unaffected.
There, although some Christians were caught up in the movement, the
heathen majority remained untouched.[32]

The effect of the revival was to cement the northern groups into a solid
unity behind King George and the missionaries. In Ha'apai the missionary
reported that there was only one heathen in the whole group.[33] The great
religious movement also divided the country more clearly into Christians
and heathens—the heathens almost without exception residing in Tongata-
797 pu. Christians in that group insulted heathens during their most sacred
798 first fruits ceremony, the *Inasi*, and heathens responded by driving Christians
from their villages and disturbing Christian worship whenever possible.[34]
A crisis developed in 1835 when, at the opening of a new chapel in the
village of Nukunuku near Nuku'alofa, the wavering chief of the vil-
lage came out strongly in favour of Christianity and he and hundreds of
[558] his people joined the church.[35] After the opening festivities had subsided the
anti-*lotu* party took the chief prisoner, deposed him, gave his title of Tuiva-
797 kanoa to another man, and drove the Christians from the village. The
798 exiles took refuge at Nuku'alofa and Tupou ordered that work on
669 fortifications begin immediately.[36] Watkin tells us that when services were
held at Nuku'alofa on the Sunday after the arrival of the exiles, guards were
posted at various parts of the fortified wall of the village. 'All the
watchers', he noted at the time, 'had teachers with them, and held religious
services at their respective stations'.[37] The next day Watkin decided to leave

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[29] Ibid., 19 Mar. 1834.

[119] [30] The revival began on 22 July 1834 while a Tongan teacher was preaching at the small village of Utui near Neiafu, Vava'u. See *Missionary Notices* (hereinafter *MN*), No. 238 (Oct. 1835); Peter Turner, Journal, 23-7 July 1834, ML, B302.

[119] [31] Tucker to Secretaries, 1 Sept. 1834, *MN*, No. 238 (Oct. 1835).

[119] [32] Thomas to Committee, 10 Sept. 1834, *MN*, No. 238 (Oct. 1835).

[119] [33] Tucker to Committee, 17 Sept. 1835, quoted in *MN*, No. 248 (Aug. 1836).

[119] [34] WMMS Minute Book, Friendly Islands District Minutes, Tonga Station Report for 1834, WMMS, ANL, mf M123; Thomas to Secretaries, 6 Dec. 1834, *MN*, No. 238 (Oct. 1834).

[119] [35] Watkin, Journal, 20-30 Sept. 1835, *MN*, No. 256 (Apr. 1837).

[119] [36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

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Nuku'alofa for the time being, and retire with his family to the safety of 797 Ha'apai.[38] In the meantime revival continued in the north, bringing 798 thousands into the church.

In this atmosphere of intense political and religious feeling the missionaries, 669 through their schools, classes and sermons, introduced the Old 797 Testament teachings of Jehovah's condemnation of heathens, idol worshippers 872 and law breakers. These teachings were contained in five small booklets: 779 one from Isaiah containing prophecies of doom to idol worshippers and apostates, two from I Samuel containing the story of Saul's battle with the 669 opponents of his rule and the enemies of Jehovah, and two from Psalms, for the most part a series of Israelite war songs.[39]

The books from Samuel taught that Israelite kinship arose out of a fear that the enemies of Jehovah would over-run and conquer the chosen people.[40] It was to save his people from their enemies that Saul was chosen as Israel's first king. However, as the story of Saul illustrates, kingship was not without its enemies from within. Speaking of the views of opponents, the biblical writer tells how some said 'How shall this man save us?' These rebels, he continues, 'despised him, and brought him no presents'.[41] Apart from enemies within there were also external threats. Saul's solution, we read, was to declare war, with the result that 'he slew the Ammorites until the heat of the day', and as one of the booklets proclaims as its final words: 'The Lord delivered all the enemies into the hand of Israel'.[42]

The extract from Isaiah prophesies doom for the 'sinful nation' because they have 'forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they have gone backward . . . the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint'.[43] Isaiah prophesies that disaster will fall upon those who refuse to be 'willing and obedient', whose land 'is full of idols' and who 'worship the work of their own hands'. These rebellious ones have 'cast away the Law of the Lord', and have 'despised the Holy One of Israel'[44]—a description that could be applied equally well to the heathen of Tonga. The tone of Isaiah is ruthless.

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[38] Ibid.

[39] *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita mei he Tohi Tabu*, No. 7 (Tongataboo Apr. 1833); *Ko e Uluaki Buka a Samiuela*, No. 12 (Tongataboo Apr. 1834); *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, No. 13 (Tongataboo May 1834); *I Samiuela*, No. 14 (Tonga Aug. 1834); *Ko e Same*, No. 15 (Tonga Oct. 1834). The decision to prepare these books was made at the District Meeting of 1832. Watkin Papers, ML, A1540. [113]

[40] *I Samiuela*, No. 14, viii, 20; xi, 1-13.

[41] Ibid., x, 27. The biblical references quoted in this article are taken from the King James Version of the bible which was used by the missionaries in their translation work. The Tongan booklets were, almost without exception, literal translations of passages from this version. [113]

[42] Ibid., xi, 11; xiv, 12.

[43] *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, i, 4-5.

[44] Ibid., ii, 8; v, 24.

> I have pursued mine enemies, and overtaken them: neither did I turn again 797
> until they were consumed. I have wounded them that they were not able to
> rise: they are fallen under my feet. . . . Thou hast given me the necks of 872
> mine enemies: that I might destroy them that hate me.[50] 779

Other elements in the theme are that Jehovah will give strength to the king 669
and people to make war, and that rebellious subjects will be humbled and
forced to submit to the king's rule.[51]

What emphasis the missionaries gave to these teachings in the day to day 797
programme of the church and schools is not easy to determine. It is quite
likely, however, judging from their writings, that they placed a good deal of 779
stress upon them. During the unsettled years of the 30s they frequently chose 669
texts for their sermons from Old Testament stories about war with the
heathen. In December 1836 King George and his close relative and adviser, [643]
Ulakai, visited Thomas at Vava'u to discuss the best policy to be followed in
what appeared to be the inevitable outbreak of war.[52] What passed between the missionary and the King was not recorded at the time, but in the weeks that followed Thomas preached on texts which told of the clash between Jehovah's chosen people and the heathen opposition. In an atmosphere of extreme excitement, becoming more inflamed daily by fresh reports of the determination of the heathen to wipe out the Christian population of Tongatapu, Thomas spent Saturday 7 January reading and expounding II Chronicles xx, 1-30.[53] In the light of subsequent events, the details of this chapter are significant. It tells the story of King Jehosophat and his victory, with the help of Jehovah, over concerted heathen opposition. Three themes emerge clearly from the narrative: the battle is the Lord's, his people do not have to fear, and the destruction of the heathen will be complete.[54]

The next day as a party of warriors was leaving Vava'u to join the forces in Tongatapu Thomas gave the chief supervising the expedition a copy of the sermon to be read or handed to King George on arrival in Tongatapu.[55] The chief and his party arrived in Tongatapu on Sunday, 8 January, and were able to reinforce King George's army for the impending encounter.

While Thomas was preaching victory for God's people in Vava'u the 669
heathens of the fortress of Ngele'ia, little more than a mile from the Chris-

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[50] Ibid., xviii, 34-42.

[51] *Ko e Same*, viii, 37-8.

[52] Thomas, Journal, 20-21 Dec. 1836, WMMS (ANL, mf M160). [113]

[53] The morning service was devoted to reading and explaining verses 1-13 and the afternoon was taken up with an exposition of verses 14-30. See Thomas, Journal, 7 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160). [113]

[54] Thomas said he spent a lot of time reading and explaining this chapter to the people. See Thomas, ibid.

[55] Thomas, Journal, 6 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160). [113]

669 tian stronghold of Nuku'alofa, were preparing to do battle. On Sunday 8
January while the Christians were at worship, the heathens attacked.[56]
669 Token resistance was shown by the Christians on the sabbath, but this was
726 followed up on the Monday by full scale retaliation. Ngele'ia was stormed.
Its fortifications were razed, its buildings burned to the ground, 20 of its
inhabitants killed and the remainder taken prisoner.[57]

A week later at the village of Hule the heathen party again attacked the
Christians while they were at worship. The skirmishes on the sabbath were
[727] followed a few days later by massive retaliation. King George and his
warriors stormed the fortress annihilating its population of 300 men, women
and children, and reducing the village and its fortifications to a heap of
ruins.[58]

669 The part played by the missionaries seems clear enough. They had not
created civil war. Fighting had been going on intermittently since 1797.[59]
797 They had, however, in establishing the new order that was emerging with
the widespread acceptance of Christianity, provided a model which allowed
the Tongans to fight out their differences albeit with additional and somewhat changed motives.

669 The day before the massacre Thomas chose Joshua v 13-15 as a text
when addressing a crowd of almost 2,000 people at Vava'u.[60] The passage
797 told of a heavenly figure who appeared to Joshua and his army just before
779 the siege of Jericho. The heavenly figure in the story revealed himself to
Joshua as 'the captain of the host of the Lord', and it is probable that Thomas assured his hearers that the Lord would provide a similar guardian angel in these latter day assaults on Jericho. In the afternoon of the same day he chose Joshua x, which tells how Joshua responded to a call for help from the Gibeonites who were besieged by heathen foes.[61] In one of the bloodiest chapters in the Old Testament, the biblical historian tells how one after another of the heathen chiefs were set upon by Joshua and his army. The outcome of these battles was always the same and the repetition of the chorus monotonous: 'and Joshua smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein, he let none

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[113] [56] Spinney to Committee, quoting his Journal, 28 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145); Watkin to Secretaries, 24 Mar. 1837, ibid.; Tucker to Secretaries, 28 Jan. 1837, ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[727] [175] [59] The fighting in 1799 was particularly bloody. A report from a London Missionary Society observer at the time spoke of 'heaps of [bodies] as large as the hull of the vessel . . . fifteen hundred or two thousand are lying upon one spot piled one upon another . . .'. ML, Hassall Papers, I, 66, CY A859.

[113] [60] Thomas, Journal, 22 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).

[61] Ibid.

remain'.[62] It is obviously these texts, and the ones used on 7 January, that 669 Dillon learned about when he called at Nuku'alofa some months after the massacre at Hule. The terms used in his accusations in the personal letter 797 to Thomas at the time, and in the later published attack, strongly resemble 779 those of the Joshua text. 'You assured those murderers of success', Dillon wrote, 'as they fought in the cause of God, who marched in their ranks, though invisible'.[63]

Thomas's position seems clear enough. After hearing of the blood bath in Tongatapu he preached on the text: 'So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might'.[64] He wrote approvingly of the chief at Neiafu, who in attempting to shame deserters from King George's army, called a special meeting and asked all those who had left the war 'to get into the middle of the ring'. Some 30 men responded, most of whom could 'give no good account of themselves, or their conduct'. Commenting on the incident Thomas remarked: 'I fear that some fine young men are lacking in courage. I think it rather disgraceful of them . . . leaving the field before the war is ended.'[65]

For Tāufa'āhau the struggle of the 30s had broader significance than a 669 purely heathen-Christian conflict. It had in addition a complex political 643 context: the long standing civil disturbances dating back to the closing years of the 18th century; the opposition of powerful enemies, in particular the Ha'a Havea; his own place in the line to the Tui Kanokupolu title; the 'ingratitude' of forgiven enemies who had again taken up arms against him. Nevertheless, the teachings of the missionaries gave him a Christian rationale 669 and sanction for prosecuting the war and his behaviour indicates that, at 643 least on the surface, biblical texts were influencing his decisions and attitudes. He consulted his spiritual adviser before the outbreak of hostilities 797 and he approached the bloody battles of 1837 in the spirit of prayer. After the Ngele'ia massacre he pointed out that he 'had not sought to be engaged in war, [but] the Lord had evidently led him to it in defence of his

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[62] Thomas, ibid., refers to a sermon based on Joshua x. The extract above is from Joshua x. 30. See also Joshua x. 32, 33, 35, 37.

[63] Dillon, *Letter to Richard More O'Farrell* . . ., 6. Dillon to Thomas, 20 Nov. 1837. WMMS (ANL, mf M145). [113]

[64] Thomas, Journal, 19 Feb. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).

[65] Ibid., 21 Feb. 1837. Although Thomas and the other missionaries in Tonga taught the [113] Old Testament stories of the conquest of Caanan as part of their Christian teaching, the Mission authorities in London in no way endorsed this action. When Thomas wrote joyfully to London with news of 'this successful war', Secretary Beecham rebuked him sharply. In part Beecham wrote: 'It has been remarked by some . . . that a somewhat different mode of expression and reasoning would have been better suited to the character of Christian Missionaries . . . It is our earnest hope . . . that you faithfully perform your duty with regard to the King and endeavour to lead him to more consistent views of the character and requirements of Christianity—which he himself in fact appears to have better understood in an earlier part of his Christian career. . . .' For full details of the letter see Beecham to Thomas, 28 Mar. 1838, WMMS, Outwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M150). [113]

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669 cause'.[66] He led his warriors in prayer before both Hule and Ngele'ia, and
643 the prayers he offered immediately before the assault upon Hule filled his
797 warriors, many of them teacher-preachers, with an emotional thrill which
they later likened to their experiences 'when the revival of religion broke
[648] out'.[67] Some years later King George urged the Samoans not to fight among
themselves, pointing out that whereas in Tonga Christians had been fighting
669 heathens, in Samoa Christians were fighting Christians.[68] When Tucker
643 spoke to King George about the bloody battle at Hule the chief told the
missionary that he

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> had no intention whatever when marching to the place to destroy the women and children, but gave orders to save them—but in a moment it came into his mind to put all to the sword—he said he believed it was the just judgement of God upon the people of that place.[69]

This 'impulse from heaven'[70] to put all to the sword bears a striking resemblance to the contents of the books King George had been reading in school and the sermons he had been hearing from the pulpit for some
669 considerable time before the outbreak of hostilities in 1837.[71] His tactics
643 during the war followed the biblical pattern. Like Jehosophat he had prayed
797 with his people before battle.[72] He divided his army into three divisions as
Saul had done when fighting the Ammorites;[73] he pursued his enemies and
725 destroyed them as David had done;[74] after routing the enemy he, like the
Biblical king, collected the spoils.[75] Father Chevron's charge that the Wesleyans broke the teeth of heathen opponents recalls the Psalms reader: 'Thou has broken the teeth of the ungodly'.[76]

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[113] [66] Brooks to Secretaries, 17 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145).

[113] [67] Stephen Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan. 1837, ML, MSS 47.

[113] [68] Peter Turner, Journal, 2 Apr. 1848, ML, B309.

[113] [69] Tucker, Journal, 22 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145). The influence of the *lotu* literature (scripture and other books) appears to have been underestimated [113] by the church historians of Tonga who have tended to explain the behaviour of the Christians [114] in 1837 in terms of a lapse into heathenism. Even if Tāufa'āhau reverted to the practices of traditional warfare he was able to do so with the full sanction of the new teaching.

[113] [70] Beecham to Thomas, 28 Mar. 1857, WMMS, Outwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M150).

[71] It may be possible to explain Tāufa'āhau's tactics in other terms but their resemblance to the biblical pattern is remarkable.

[115] [72] Brookes, Journal, 16 Jan. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence, (ANL, mf M145); II Chronicles xx, 18

[113] [73] Tucker, Journal, 15 Feb. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145); *Ko e Uluaki Buka a Samiuela* xi, 11.

[115] [74] Tucker, Journal, 22 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145). *Ko e Same* xviii, 37.

[113] [75] Thomas, MS History of Tonga, p 1078 (ANL, mf M165); II Chronicles xx, 25.

[113] [76] Letter from P. Chevron, Tonga, 11 July 1842, quoted in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, XV (1843) 431; Letter from P. Chevron, Tonga-Tabou, 24 June 1843, quoted in *Annales . . .*, XVII (1845), 98; *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita*, iii, 7.

FOLLOWING the publication of Dillon's allegations, the Missionary Committee in London directed Joseph Orton, superintendent of the Australian 669 District, to institute an official inquiry. Orton prepared carefully for the 797 task, drawing up a list of 34 queries which he felt would help him in his [114] investigation. Of these, only one (No. 22) touched directly on the missionaries' implication in war. This asked 'Was he [King George] influenced in his attack in any way by the Missionaries—or did he seek the 669 advice of Mr. Thomas or any of the Missionaries?'[77] On the basis of informa- 797 tion from returned missionaries who had been in Tonga at the time of the 643 attack Orton concluded:

> I cannot say that he was advised by Mr. Thomas or any of the Missionaries though it is possible that their opinion might have some influence. . . . It is possible that had the Missionaries positively disapproved of his assisting Tupou he might have declined to do so: therefore it may at least be viewed as a kind of negative or silent approbation.[78]

But Orton did not go to Tonga. He was recalled to England and John Waterhouse, newly appointed General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Australasia and Polynesia, conducted the enquiry in his stead. Waterhouse examined Thomas on six allegations that had been drawn up from [114] Dillon's charges by the Mission authorities in London. Only one of these focused attention on the missionaries' implication in the war. It read: 'That Mr. Thomas persuaded this "bloody usurper" to invade Tonga who with his thousand armed savages slaughtered man woman and child and committed most revolting barbarities'.[79] Framed in this way the allegation could be categorically denied, for it was 'Josiah Tupou King of Tonga' who 'sent to George for succour as the heathen were preparing war against the Xtians'.[80] With all the allegations dismissed in a similar way, the committee of 669 enquiry was able to pass the resolution which completely and unreservedly 797 exonerated Thomas of any blame.[81] This official finding coincided with [114] Waterhouse's personal view that Dillon's charges were 'a tissue of malicious falsehoods'.[82]

In all the enquiries into the affair Dillon's two most persistent charges— [114] that war was used as an instrument to propagate the gospel and that Thomas

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[77] Joseph Orton, Queries and Memoranda regarding the War, Friendly Islands, Book No. 2, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[78] Joseph Orton, Information on Queries, Friendly Islands, Book No. 3, WMMS (ANL, mf M159). [113]

[79] Friendly Islands District Minutes, Report for 1841, Appendix 1, Dillon Allegations, WMMS (ANL, mf M123). [113]

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] *MN*, Vol. I New Series (May 1841), 503. [113]

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Oral Traditions

An Appraisal of their Value in Historical Research in Tonga

SIONE LATUKEFU

IN THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH WHICH I WAS CARRYING OUT IN TONGA TOWARDS 124
the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965 I recorded, among other oral 114
testimonies, a good collection of oral traditions from the chiefs and people
of Tonga, and in particular, Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote, at that
time the living authority on these matters.

In Tonga oral traditions are preserved by social classes and by the 538
major socio-political units of society as well as by families. Oral traditions 533
may take the form of stories, told or sung, relating the heroic deeds of
clan founders or important historical personages. There are family titles
with stories of their origins and of those who succeeded to them, in some
cases tracing back to the 14th and 15th centuries. Place names, proverbial
sayings, songs[1] and traditional ceremonial mats have historical events associ-
ated with them which are still known. There are songs, sometimes accom- 533
panied by dances, which relate ritual or historical events. At Kolovai, where 535
I come from, we perform a *lakalaka*, a dance performed by lines of men [114]
and women and accompanied by singing. This *lakalaka*, known as *milolua*,
relates how to carry out the ceremony of kava making. At Lifuka, in
Ha'apai, I recorded a *lakalaka* which recounts the feats of the celebrated
King George who defeated the *Tu'i Tonga* at the war of Velata, fought in
1825-1826.

The traditions are kept mainly by the chiefs of the social group concern- 814
ed or by their *Kau-matāpule* (attendants). Both men and women of chiefly [565]
rank may know the traditions but there are no formal keepers of traditions [554]
as in some African societies. In Tonga certain individuals are especially
well informed, and they may be referred to as *tangata 'ilo* (or *fefine 'ilo* if a
woman) meaning 'one who knows'. Certain social classes have knowledge of
particular traditions, as for instance the *Ha'atufunga* class which knows all
the ceremonial and traditional lore concerned with the burial of kings and
chiefs. The major socio-political units also preserve certain traditions, such
as the rituals and ceremonials connected with the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* royal
dynasty, which are kept by the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a.*

The controversy over the value of oral traditions is well known and 121

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[1] See J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright (London, 1965), 51-2. [113]

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121 all that need be said here about it is that at present the climate of opinion among scholars is more favourable to their use in historical research. The voices of men such as Robert Lowie, who once declared that he could not 'attach to oral tradition any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever',[2] and of B. Malinowski and his fellow functionalists, no longer seem to receive a sympathetic hearing. On the other hand works based on a critical use of oral traditions, such as those of John Barnes in his reconstructions of the political structure of the Ngoni and Raymond Firth's *History and Traditions of Tikopia*,[3] are widely acclaimed by scholars.

While accepting the view that no absolute truth can be expected from oral traditions since those who preserve them probably do so for reasons of social, economic or political advantage, and while agreeing with Malinowski that distortion results from the sociological functions of current historical traditions,[4] I could not accept the argument that they have no historical value whatsoever. McCall is correct in saying that 'to recognize the limitations of the use of traditions is not the same as denying their value'.[5] If social scientists were seeking only bias-free evidence they would have very little indeed to go on, even with written documents. The question that confronted me, therefore, was not whether to ignore or use oral traditions, but rather how, in using them, distortions could be detected and the likely sources of bias given proper recognition.

One of the first requirements for successful use of oral traditions is a
124 good knowledge of the local language. This has been one of the handicaps
suffered by many foreign investigators who have worked in Tonga. I had
[114] the advantage of being able to work in my own language. There can be
distortions introduced through the use of interpreters, particularly where educated and reliable ones are hard to come by. At least a working knowledge of the language can avoid some unnecessary embarrassments. R. C. Suggs tells how once in the Marquesas he 'met a poor fellow who had a long vocabulary list of what he considered essential words such as "bread", "egg", "water" etc. The list was actually one of obscenities—his informants had given him the word for penis in place of bread, testicle in place of
124 114 egg, semen for water, etc.'.[6] A similar thing occurred in Tonga in an

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[113] [2] R. Lowie, 'Oral Tradition and History', *Journal of American Folklore*, XXX (1917), 161-7.

[113] [3] J. A. Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society* (London, 1954); R. Firth, *History and Traditions of Tikopia* (Wellington, 1961).

[113] [4] R. Firth (ed.), *Man and Culture. An Evaluation of the Work of Bronislaw Malinowski* (London, 1957), 21.

[113] [5] D. F. McCall, *Africa in Time-Perspective: a discussion of historical reconstruction from unwritten sources* (Boston, 1965), 54.

[113] [6] R. C. Suggs, *The Hidden Worlds of Polynesia* (London, 1963), 111.

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archaeological investigation carried out during the 1920s. The author's 124
monograph tells us of one of the royal tombs: 'Tradition says that a Tui 114
Tonga Fefine (female Tui Tonga) named Taemoemimi and the Tui Tonga Pau are buried here'.[7] Had the author learned enough Tongan he would have realized that *taemoemimi*, while seeming to be a respectable name as one word, was in fact made up of three separate words, which literally translated mean 'excreta and urine'—a most unlikely name for a royal personage.

A knowledge of the local culture is another essential, not only for 121
correctly interpreting data but also for establishing good rapport with people, especially informants. The investigator who fails in this may find himself in a similar situation to the archaeologist referred to above.

While I did not face the same difficulties that a foreign investigator 124
might find, there were still some problems in obtaining co-operation. In
Tonga, as already noted, oral traditions are mostly known by chiefs and 814
they are usually jealously guarded, for such knowledge was and still is a 554
source of tremendous prestige. People take a pride in being known as *'tangata 'ilo'*. Consequently it takes tact and patience to obtain their knowledge from them.

While in Ha'apai, the middle group of islands of Tonga, early in 1965 I went to the widow of one of the high chiefs who had died a few years previously. The deceased chief was widely known to have been the best informed person on the traditions of the area. I had heard a rumour that he had left a book in which he had recorded his historical and traditional reminiscences. When I arrived at the place the widow and her son welcomed me. We talked for a while before I mentioned that I had heard about the 'book'. Immediately I was told that the last they had heard of it
was that it was with a cousin somewhere over 100 miles away. I then told 217
them what a pity it was that such an invaluable document was not available
to be quoted and duly acknowledged in my work and moreover that it 114
should be preserved in the government archives, which I myself was supposed to be establishing, where it could be protected against the effects of tropical climate and could be carefully labelled as their property, being taken care of by Her Majesty's government. As I finished speaking I noticed that the mother and son exchanged looks, showing that they had taken my words to heart. When I left they expressed regret that my visit had been so short and unexpected, but if I could come back the following day the son would write down his reminiscences of the stories told by his father. Next

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[7] W. C. McKern, *Archaeology of Tonga*, Bayard Dominick Expedition Publication no. 15. 113
B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin no. 60 (Honolulu, 1929). 53.

of Velata the feats of a warrior named Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva, another 173
island of Ha'apai, who was considered by others to be one of the most out- 669
standing heroes. Naturally they sang the praises of their own two warriors,
and said that after one skirmish Tāufa'āhau (King George) came and found
Tu'uhetoka standing among a group of dead enemy warriors whom he
claimed he himself had killed, but who, according to the 'Uiha people,
were killed by another outstanding warrior named Puakatau whom Tu'uhe-
toka had himself killed out of jealousy.

In 1965 I visited the island of Lifuka where this war took place, and 123
was taken by the local people to what remains of the fortress of Velata itself,
as well as to the historic tracts of land surrounding it. My local informants 124
told me the names of these tracts of land (*api*) and also how these names
had arisen. One story was about Tu'uhetoka. They said that at the peak of 173
a skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being over- 669
powered a warrior of outstanding calibre among the men of Ha'afeva inter- 643
vened, and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau [726]
ploughed their way through *Tu'i Tonga*'s warriors, felling scores of them
with their clubs while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic perform-
ance, Tāufa'āhau was said to have remarked that he was like a gigantic fish
chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory Tāufa'āhau bestowed 173
upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (meaning 'standing in the face of defeat') 729
and gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and [643]
called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later he was given the [553] [103]
island of Ha'afeva as his estate (*tofi'a*),[8] and the name Tu'uhetoka became a [565]
noble title.

I found oral traditions a useful supplement to written sources. Care 173
needed to be taken, however, that the oral traditions were in fact genuine 124
and not distorted versions of written accounts. I was able to detect a few [121]
cases where people claimed to have oral knowledge which turned out to be
spurious. When I was at 'Uiha I asked the old men about a certain tradition 124
which existed there. After a while they became uncertain and said that Mr
So-and-so, who was not present, knew all about it. Consequently we sent for
him. He was a school teacher in his early 50s, who was able to read English
books haltingly. What he had to tell turned out to be based on what he had
read in a collection of tales written for schools. However the genuine oral 114
traditions proved to be a valuable check on the reliability of written sources. [121]
An example of this may be seen in the account of the destruction of the fort- [797]
ress, god houses and effigies of 'Uiha. Bishop Blanc has the following [798] [643]
account in his history of Tonga:

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[8] S. Latukefu, 'Church and State in Tonga', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University (Canberra, 1967), 192. [113]

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> 114 Taufaahau in 1835 commenced to preach the gospel. Although professing
> 797 Christianity, he had at no time showed forbearance in his dealings with those
> 798 who were still pagans. Through a trick he succeeded in capturing the pagan
> 643 fort of Uiha, and gave the people into slavery to the chiefs of Vavau.[9]

The implications of this appear to be that Tāufa'āhau acted in a ruthless and inhuman fashion without considering the welfare of the people. However various oral traditions which I collected throw a different light on the episode.

173 The 'Uiha people were the last group to resist Christianity in Ha'apai.
797 Other chiefs had persuaded their people to become converted on the orders
of Tāufa'āhau, but according to traditions, the chief of 'Uiha, who was
643 named Malupō, and his sons, because they were closely related and had
798 political affiliations with Tāufa'āhau, were able to resist his wishes on matters
of religion without fear of disastrous consequences. Tāufa'āhau for his part
was not seriously disturbed by 'Uiha's resistance. He sought no armed
reprisal as was expected by some of the 'Uiha people, but treated ~~the whole~~
173 matter in a rather humorous way. At the time that he became ruler of
Vava'u it was well known that there was some dissatisfaction among a few
797 of the chiefs in Vava'u concerning the issues of religion and the rulership of
643 Vava'u. Tāufa'āhau used this situation as a means of tricking Malupō and
his sons into terminating their resistance to Christianity.

According to tradition, before leaving on one of his visits to Vava'u he sent a message to Malupō to send the warriors of 'Uiha to Vava'u for his protection. On reaching Vava'u he arranged for the people of a small village called Masilamea, well known for their gentleness and lack of fighting prowess, to lie in ambush for the 'Uiha warriors near the spot where his large white pig was kept in an enclosure. When the 'Uiha warriors arrived Tāufa'āhau informed them that the rumour of a plot against his life was false. He then suggested that they should fetch his white pig to kill it as an *'oho* (provisions) for their return journey. Two or three warriors remained in their canoe while the rest set forth, unarmed, to fetch the pig. As soon as they had departed the canoe was seized. The others approached the pig enclosure, only to encounter the gentle Masilamea people who ambushed and, of course, outnumbered them, bound their hands behind their backs
[539] and led them to Neiafu, the capital. When Tāufa'āhau saw his famous warrior cousins as captives of the most un-warlike Masilameans, he burst into laughter, saying 'Toki taha a Masilamea' (Masilamea's first), which has become a common saying in Tonga ever since to refer to a rare and unexpected

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[113] [9] J. F. Blanc, *A History of Tonga or Friendly Islands. Trans. from the Tongan by C. S. Ramsay* (Vista, California, 1934), 57.

69: Lātūkefu H,I-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OU9 Tonga OU9

173

achievement made by an unlikely person. Then Tāufa'āhau lectured the 797 warriors on the falsehood of heathenism and exhorted them to become 643 Christians. They were detained at Vava'u (not as slaves, as Blanc alleged) [539] until Tāufa'āhau and his men had sailed to 'Uiha and levelled its fortress [114] and burnt down the god houses and all the effigies. In Vava'u the warriors [798] soon became converted and when they returned to 'Uiha they proceeded to build the largest and most beautiful chapel in all Ha'apai. Rather than resenting what happened, the 'Uiha people had been grateful to Tāufa'āhau for what he had done—except for the episode of the white pig and the Masila-means which none of my 'Uiha informants wanted to mention.

This traditional background information put the event in perspective and showed Tāufa'āhau's behaviour to have been a very shrewd and humane way of overcoming opposition.

In conclusion, I believe that oral traditions after being carefully and 121 critically submitted to the canons of historical and anthropological criticism, have helped tremendously to make the history of Tonga more alive, more interesting, exciting, and I hope, more accurate. In general, I agree with McCall that: 'It was in learning to use these "witnesses in spite of themselves" and putting together in a kind of puzzle small scraps of information from various sources that history became, as Michelet put it, less the unmoving pupil of the chronicles of the ancients and more the ever-daring explorer of all ages'.[10]

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[10] McCall, *op. cit.*, 19.

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539

A POEM BY THE TONGAN CHIEF TAFOLO

Pardon me, noble chiefs and lineages,
For the searching place is now far and difficult;
The old plantations once scattered on the roads
Have now quite disappeared and gone with them their generation,
And although they now lie in very thick bush,
Search will be made at any rate
For Touiafutuna, the first rock
Where our origin began.
Though these are only traditions and fables,
'Tis here the inquirers get their facts.

E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 6. Translation attributed to Beatrice Shirley Baker. [113]

[iv cont.]

114 121 The British legislature did not send out and liberally support my father as a naturalist, who was merely to bring home a collection of butterflies and dried plants. That superior wisdom which guides the counsels of this nation, induced many persons of considerable distinction to act on this occasion with unexampled greatness. So far from prescribing rules for his conduct, they conceived that the man whom they had chosen, prompted by his natural love of science, would endeavour to derive the greatest possible advantages to learning from his voyage. He was only therefore directed to exercise all his talents, and to extend his observations to every remarkable object. From him they expected a philosophical history of the voyage, free from prejudice and vulgar error, where human nature should be represented without any adherence to fallacious systems, and upon the principles of general philanthropy; in short, an account written upon a plan which the learned world had not hitherto seen executed. [v]

114 My father performed the voyage, and collected his observations agreeably to the ideas which had thus been entertained of him. Fully resolved to complete the purpose of his mission, and to communicate his discoveries to the public, and not allowing himself any time to rest from the fatigues which he had undergone, he inscribed and presented the first specimen of his labours to his majesty within four months after his return (1). The history of the voyage, the principal performance which was demanded at his hands, next engrossed his whole attention. It was at first proposed, that from his own and captain Cook's journals a single narrative should be composed, in which the

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● [113] 1. Characteres Generum Plantarum quas in Insulis maris australis colleg. & c. Joannes Reinoldus Forster, LL.D. & Georgius Forster. 4to. Lond. 1776.

[159]

CHAP. VIII.

Run from the Society to the Friendly Islands.

000 We fired a salute of several guns on leaving the island of Raietea, in honour of his majesty's birth day [June 4, 1774]; and this discharge of our artillery afforded no small entertainment to the inhabitants. During the six weeks which we spent at Taheitee and the Society Islands, we had been well refreshed, and were perfectly recovered from our bilious and scorbutic complaints: a venereal disorder was, however, the reward of those, that

> ----with unbashful forehead, woo'd
> The means of sickness and debility.
>
> SHAKESPEARE.

Nearly one half of our crew were afflicted with this nauseous and shameful disease; though it was in general less virulent that in Europe. Our conversations with Mahine on its ravages, gave us the greatest reason to be convinced, that it existed at Taheitee and the Society Islands previous to captain Wallis's voyage in 1768. Mahine frequently assured us, that several years before that period, his mother died of this disease at Borabora. Its appearance has therefore been attributed to a wrong cause in various [160] parts of the world. For the space of near three centuries the Spaniards have been accused by physicians, and detested by moralists, for bringing the infection from America, which is now incontrovertibly proved to have begun in Europe, previous to the discovery of America (1).

[113]

1. See Petr. Martyr. ab Angleria Decad. American.---Dissertation sur l'Origine de la Maladie Venerienne, par M. Sanchez. Paris, 1752.---Examen historique sur l'Apparition de la Maladie Venerienne en Europe. Lisbonne, 1774---Dr. Hunter, in the Phil Trans. and others.

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FOOTNOTES

Notes for Chapter I

161 [1] A numerical estimate of the indigenous Tongan population for
the year 1800 would fall within the range of fifteen to twenty thousand.
The most frequently cited figure is that of 18,500 recorded by
Wilkes in 1840 from the Wesleyan missionaries (1845, III: 29), but
this is greatly at odds with a Wesleyan estimate of 50,000 for 1847
162 (Lawry 1850: 245; Vide McArthur 1967: 73). An intriguing population
total for Tongatapu alone was made by an Australian sea captain in
1824: he placed the population of the main island at 34,800 (Beveridge
114 1824 Letter). Unfortunately, I believe the captain had less than the
goals of a preliminary census taker at heart but more the eye of a
businessman cum sea captain who was trying to convince the Wesleyan
missionaries at Sydney, Australia, with whom he was acquainted, of the
tremendous potential sales market for material goods and Christianity
in the archipelago.

797 [2] This list is based on Minns (1930; 1933). Missionaries who only
passed through the archipelago are not included in this list. This includes
Hazlewood, who was in Tonga in 1844 and Thompson who was in
127 Tonga in 1850. A comparison of the list with the manuscript bibliography
of this work will partially indicate the number of manuscript
● [113] material which have survived into this Century. Many of these Wesleyan
missionaries had letters in the Mitchell Library microfilm series
FM4/1417 to FM4/1421. These letters were read in the course of the
research but unless they were specifically cited in this presentation,
these individual letters do not appear in this bibliography.

121 [3] The Swanton volume is an excellent example of ethnohistory
contributing to ethnographic reconstruction (Bushnell) and culture
history (Fenton).

[4] The historical aspect of Pacific culture was given impetus by the establishment in 1950 of the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. Maude wrote that "the historical study of the Pacific Islands could be said to have commenced as an organized specialization within the general discipline of history" in 1950 (Maude 1968: xv). Even though "Pacific History" as an organized discipline began the movement to archival sources, the interest. of Pacific historians have not necessarily coincided with the interests of ethnohistorians; and even though Pacific historians have done extensive archival research, their published works do not delineate the historical method which they applied to their sources.

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Journal 12. (February 1856-October 1859)
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[Note: The Above Thomas Items, from Journal Number 1 through the 1879 History constitute the bulk of Thomas' accounts. Below are listed, in chronological order, some additional references specifically cited in the course of the presentation. One additional Thomas item is located at the National Library of Australia, Canberra.]

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1909 The Indians of Greater New York and the Lower Hudson. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History. New York.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

121 contemporary Polynesian natives. He may do this again from two points of view: first, making an evaluation of the role of nonorganic factors in personality growth; and second (and reversely), providing a rough index of personal disorganization and psychic stress among individuals in selected societies.

For both points of view, much of the success of this type of study depends upon clear knowledge of the present cultural patterns in a given society, their present integration and homogeneity. It is through this knowledge that one will be best able to interpret the data selected and collected. For the first point of view expressed above, it is necessary, I think, that we have more investigations made into the life of Polynesian children.[1] An acceptable scheme of study, as Margaret Mead has recently suggested, might well be elaborated by experts to ensure comparability of data collected by subsequent investigators. The second point of view involves first, I think, the statistical study (where statistics are available) of mental disorder among different cultural groups in Polynesia today and, secondly, case studies of psychic stress among natives and others subjected to the strains of cultural adaptation.

At the present time quantitative studies of mental disorder are possible in both Hawaii and New Zealand. In Hawaii one may compare, though not without difficulty, the incidence of mental disease among the native Hawaiians and other cultural groups (Japanese, Korean, Filipino, etc.) that constitute this modern melting pot of races. In New Zealand it is also possible to compare the same incidence for Maori and White. A preliminary survey in both areas[2] leads me to feel that this method might well be elaborated and refined in its application so as to produce valuable scientific data on the incidence of mental disorganization among Polynesian peoples subjected to the strains of adjusting to changing social standards. It is unfortunate from the viewpoint of the Polynesian student that no attempt has yet been made to keep statistics (not even the simplest) regarding incidence of mental disease in Fiji. Provision exists in Suva for the segregation of psychotics. An adequate quantitative analysis of psychosis among the cultural groups in Fiji today (East Indian, Chinese, native Fijian, etc.) would doubtless provide valuable comparative material.

Recorded studies of psychic stress among present-day Polynesians are not voluminous.[3] Yet such studies, as Hallowell and others have shown for the American Indian,[4] are likely not only to yield information about the specific culture studied but also to provide comparative material which at least serves to focus many problems of contemporary personality research.

114 The following material from Tonga is quite incomplete. It was collected as a sideline to other investigations. But it has the value, I think, of giving new insights into contemporary Tongan society. The psychological interpretations offered all suffer from varying amounts of guesswork. This is inevitable inasmuch as the time at my disposal was short and informants were busy with ordinary economic activities. The value of the theorizing, therefore, lies mainly in any illumination it gives into the lives of individual Tongans and, again,

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[113] [1] See Ernest Beaglehole, "Polynesian Anthropology Today," *Am. Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, No. 2, p. 220.

[113] [2] Beaglehole, *Some Modern Hawaiians*, Appendix B on "Culture and Psychosis in Hawaii," University of Hawaii Research Bulletin (in press); *ibid.*, "Psychosis in New Zealand," *Jour. Polynesian Society* (in press).

[113] [3] Note, however, Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1929), chs. 10, 11, and appendix iv.

[113] [4] References will be found in Hallowell's studies; for a guide to which see A. I. Hallowell, "Shabwán: A Dissocial Indian Girl," *Am. Jour. Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1938, p. 330.

as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and 114
more competent hands.[1]

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had 154
no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The
women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable persever- [123]
ance that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women
informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men.
Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are 154
given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to 828
dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portend- 787
ing death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are
those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of
feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[2] Dreams of
approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams,
generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer
continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams 154
could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited 787
by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness 828
and sterility in women. 757

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpre- 154
tation. The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist 159
College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend"
appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual [836]
morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been
asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at [893]
night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of
this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its
intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very
poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to
Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also
a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane
(6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly
changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with
the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a
dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the
dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This
dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags [291]
because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without [842]
yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in
which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally
that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

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[1] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, [101]
to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small
Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center
for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa,
capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole
helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer,
Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[2] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives [113]
several further examples.

159 carry the saucepan and its contents to his own house. Sione lifts the saucepan and sets off, but suddenly he feels very sad because he sees that the saucepan is filled with filth, feces, and disease. He is disgusted with Pili for making him carry all this filth to his own house.

[328] Sione had no interpretation of this dream to offer, nor am I able to give [154] any specific meaning to the actual incidents reported. The equating of money 436 with feces is, of course, of particular interest. Money is a valued object in 434 Pangai today—hard to get except by the back-breaking labor of copra making, and much green copra is needed to earn a single shilling. At the same time, although a man may gain enough food for himself and his family by hard work in his bush plantation, nevertheless a minimum amount of money (which seems large to a Tongan villager) is absolutely necessary for piece goods for clothing, for kerosene, fishhooks, certain desirable European foods, and tobacco. Money for the Tongan is not yet a symbol of power, but it is still a 154 fundamental necessity which is hard to acquire and easy to spend. With this attitude toward money, it is perhaps understandable that there should occur in this Tongan dream an identification similar to identifications that occur in our own society.[7]

151 Of the dreams that we collected, however, the large majority seem to be motivated by emotional conflicts over religious matters, usually anxieties over 771 schismatic differences between the various Christian churches in Tonga. In 795 the village of Pangai there are today three religious groups professing Wesleyan Christianity (Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Free Church of Tonga, Church of Tonga) and a Roman Catholic group as well. Members of the Latter Day Saints Church are found in a near-by township, and one at least of the men of Pangai professed to be a Seventh-Day Adventist—all these in a village 771 of about 270 people. Moreover, religion for the villagers is not something merely for Sunday observance; it is a real life-and-death matter, involving prayer services on most week days, and, because church law is in many aspects of conduct identical with secular law, religious influences permeate through to every nook and corner of contemporary Tongan culture. More than any other set of values, religious values are today providing the cement that gives a significant integration to Tongan society—thus doubtless playing [178] a role that was formerly filled by aboriginal Tongan religion. Chang in religious ideology, has occurred, but it is largely a mere variation (god substitutions, tapu substitution, etc.) on a fundamental pattern that today, as formerly, provides a cohesive force in Tongan life. By this I mean to stress the [154] fact that the Pangai villager takes his religion seriously. It vitally affects both his living and his dying in such a fashion that it is not surprising for psychic stress to be formulated in religious terms and symbols.

[154] The following dream, for example, suggests a phrasing of adolescent love interest in religious terms:

159 *Case 8.*—A dream of Ana, unmarried girl of 16 years. She dreamed she was walking down the village road and came to a place where the road branched. One road was narrow and dark. The other road was smooth, bright, and well

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[113] [7] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Property* (New York, 1932), pp. 266–272. Seligman in his paper on "Temperament, Conflict, and Psychosis in a Stone Age Population" (*Brit. Jour. Med. Psych.*, Vol. 9, 1929, p. 196) gives the case of a native of Massim, New Guinea, who had been serving as a store boy and suffering from delusions of grandeur in which he equated money with feces. Also, it may be noted that apart from brief maniacal attacks, Seligman (*op. cit.*, p. 195) is of the opinion that psychoses do not occur among New Guinea natives except as the result of stresses set up by white influence—a point of observation which, if true, would tend to support the theoretical position outlined in the present paper.

76: Yuncker OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For further references on the flora of Tonga, see Category 137, for references to botanical sources.]

126 101 doned because of a combination of unfavorable weather and lack of transportation. But I predict that collections made on those islands, so far little-known botanically, where land utilization has been slight will increase to some extent the list of species known to grow in Tonga.

000 A number of botanists have visited Tonga in the past and made collections ranging from a few numbers to several hundred. Among the first collectors known to have reached the islands were Banks, Solander, the Forsters, and Nelson who accompanied Captain Cook on his voyages in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Among others who have collected there subsequently may be mentioned George Barclay, James Macrae, Captain W. F. Beechey, Alexander Mathews, Sir Edward Home, W. H. Harvey, Dr. E. Graeffe, J. N. Moseley, Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, T. B. Cartwright, J. J. Lister, and C. S. Crosby. With the exception of the collections made by Moseley on Tongatapu, Lister on 'Eua, and Crosby on Vava'u, most were relatively small and most were obtained during the nineteenth century. In 1926, H. E. Parks and W. A. Setchell collected on Tongatapu and 'Eua, and in 1951 Dr. Hans Hürlimann spent several weeks making collections, principally on Tongatapu, 'Eua, Tafahi, and Niuatoputapu.

● 113 Two comprehensive reports have been made on the flora of Tonga: (1) The flora of the Tonga or Friendly Islands, . . ., by W. B. Hemsley in the Journal of the Linnaean Society (Botany **30**: 158-217, 1894), which also included some species from islands outside the Tongan group, and (2) The flora of Vava'u, one of the Tonga Islands, by I. H. Burkill in the Journal of the Linnaean Society (Botany **35**: 20-65, 1901). In addition, occasional references to Tongan species are found in reports on the flora of nearby islands or on the Pacific area in general.

128 The collections cited by Hemsley and by Burkill in their reports, unless for some reason questioned, have been included in the list of citations for the different species. These specimens have not been studied and are only provisionally included. The Hemsley and Burkill publications when referred to with respect to synonymy are indicated as Hemsley's and as Burkill's lists. The specimens collected by Dr. Hürlimann which have been examined are also cited. Altitudes given in connection with the citation of some of the collections were estimated or obtained from map records.

126 I made no attempt to procure extensive collections of the lower plants, and
137 only the most conspicuous and abundant species were taken. The small representation of the lower groups should, therefore, not be interpreted as an
137 indication of their scarcity. Fleshy fungi, especially, appeared to be quite abundant in the moist forested areas. Parasitic fungi such as leafspots and rusts, on the contrary, were very scarce. In none of the regions visited were bryophytes conspicuously abundant, as is frequently true in tropical rain-forest areas. Such collections of the lower cryptogams as were made are included in this report as a matter of record.

The leaves and bark[1] are used in medicines and in scenting coconut oil. For a discussion of this as well as other members of the Rutaceae in Tonga, Fiji, and Samoa, see A. C. Smith (Jour. Arnold Arboretum **32**: 226-255, 1951).

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Genus **Acronychia** J. R. and G. Forster

Acronychia niueana St. John, B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. **178**: 67, fig. 3, 1943.

Shrub or small tree, up to 5 m. tall. Leaves opposite, simple, oval, obtuse or retuse, base acute, up to 20 cm. long and 10 cm. wide, minutely glandular-dotted, fragrant, petiole up to 4 cm. long. Flowers very small, white, numerous, in compound, axillary, cymose clusters; fruit subglobose, 5-7 mm. in diameter.

Tongatapu: *Setchell and Parks 15184;* near Fangahina, *Setchell and Parks 15466;* in thicket, near Vaini village, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15047.*

Infrequent. Also in Niue.

Tongan name: *ahivao.*

Genus **Micromelum** Blume

Micromelum minutum (Forster f.) Seemann, Viti, 434, 1862.

Small tree up to 4 or 5 m. tall, the branches puberulent. Leaves pinnate, the leaflets up to 12 or more, alternate, ovate-lanceolate, acuminate, the base oblique, up to 10 cm. or more long and 7 cm. wide but mostly smaller, the petiolules about 5 mm. long. Flowers very small, white, fragrant, puberulent, in many-flowered, terminal and axillary, paniculate clusters.

Tongatapu: *Forster; Moseley;* in thicket near Vaini village, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15048;* forest, second strand terrace below Fu'amotu, Nov. 3, 1951, *Hürlimann 138, 141.*

'Eua: *Lister;* along road between Ohonua and Pangai, Nov. 8, 1951, *Hürlimann 146.*

Nomuka: in thicket on seaward side of road encircling island between sea and inland lake, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15814.*

Lifuka: in seaside thicket north of Pangai village, Apr. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15748;* in thicket at northern end of island near Lifuka end of the interisland causeway, May 11, 1953, *Yuncker 15983.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* on forested slope leading down to Lake Anovai, May 19, 1953, *Yuncker 16044.*

Tafahi: fog forest below top of Piu 'o Tafahi, alt. 590 m., Dec. 10, 1951, *Hürlimann 435.*

Frequent throughout Tonga. From southern Asia through Malaya to Polynesia.

M. pubescens Blume var. *glabrescens* Oliv. in Hemsley's and Burkill's lists.

Tongan names: *takafalu, takafalu hina.*

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[1] /Evodia hortensis -- Analyst/

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Rather frequent throughout Tonga. Also in Fiji and Niue.

Aglaia sp. in Burkill's list.

Tongan name: *langakali*.

The flowers are used for leis and for scenting oil.[1]

For a discussion of the Fijian, Samoan, and Tongan members of the Meliaceae, see A. C. Smith (U.S. Nat. Herb., Contrib. **30**: 469-522, 1952).

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FAMILY DICHAPETALACEAE

Genus **Dichapetalum** Thouars

Dichapetalum vitiense (Seemann) Engler. in Engler and Prantl, Nat. Pflanzenfam. 3(4): 348, 1897.

High-climbing, woody vine, the young twigs puberulous. Leaves alternate, elliptic-subovate or subobovate, acuminate, base rounded, obtuse or acute, sometimes inequilateral, entire, up to 15 cm. or more long and 7 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, finely venulose as viewed by transmitted light. Flower buds yellow-hairy; fruit obovoid, 1-2 cm. in diameter, densely puberulent.

'Eua: canyon of Lakatoha River near Ohonua, Nov. 10. 1951, *Hürlimann 247*.

Vava'u: in forest near summit of ridge, Mo'ungalafa, May 27, 1953, *Yuncker 16203;* near Neiafu, Aug. 1926, *Setchell and Parks 15654*.

Infrequent. Also in Fiji.

Tongan name: *tuamea*.

Said to be poisonous.

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FAMILY EUPHORBIACEAE

Genus **Phyllanthus** Linnaeus

Phyllanthus niruri Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 981, 1753.

Branching, slender-stemmed, glabrous plant, up to 30 cm. or more tall, subwoody at base. Leaves alternate, along very slender branches, paler beneath, oblong-subspatulate, somewhat oblique, obtuse, base subacute, up to about 1 cm. long and 3 or 4 mm. wide, subsessile on very short petioles. Flowers very small, white, pendent beneath branches on short, slender, axillary pedicels; fruit small, depressed-globose.

Tongatapu: ballast weed, *Setchell and Parks 15329*.

Lifuka: in sandy soil, clearing near beach north of Pangai village, Apr. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15719*.

Niuatoputapu: in cultivated area above Hihifo toward mountain range, alt. 30 m., Dec. 5, 1951, *Hürlimann 329*.

Occasional. A pantropic weedy plant.

Phyllanthus simplex Retzius, Observ. Bot. 5: 29, 1789.

Slender, glabrous, branching plant, up to 60 cm. tall, slightly woody at base. Leaves numerous, alternate, elliptic-oblong, acutish with a short, mucronate tip, up to about 2 cm.

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[1] /Aglaia saltatorum -- Analyst/

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Niuafo'ou: thicket just above upper margin of recent lava flow, May 16, 1953. *Yuncker 15989.* 137

Frequent throughout Tonga. New Hebrides eastward to [?] Samoa.

Phyllanthus ramiflorus Muell. Arg. in Hemsley's list and *P. ramiflorus* var. *genuinus* Muell. Arg. in Burkill's list.

Tongan names: *malolo, misikoka.*

The leaves and bark are used in preparing medicines.[1] [278]

For a discussion of the taxonomic status and distribution of *G. concolor* [824]
and *G. ramiflorum* see Croizat (Sargentia 1: 47, 1942). [113]

Genus **Bischofia** Blume

Bischofia javanica Blume, Bijdr. Fl. Java, 1168. 1826.

Tree, up to 10 m. or more tall, branchlets and leaves glabrous. Leaves alternate, three-foliate, leaflets ovate-elliptic, acuminate, base acute, up to 15 cm. long and 8 cm. wide, crenate-dentate, terminal leaflet long-stalked, lateral leaflets on petiolules 1-1.5 cm. long. Flowers small, dioecious, numerous, in axillary, panicled racemose clusters; fruit globose, fleshy, up to about 1 cm. in diameter.

Tongatapu: *Moseley;* thicket near Hufangalupe, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15042;* near dwellings, Ma'ofanga, Nov. 23, 1951, *Hürlimann 313;* near Nualei, Dec. 26, 1951, *Hürlimann 677.*

'Eua: in forested area near center of island, Mar. 18, 1953, *Yuncker 15313;* in forest along creek above Fuai, alt. 90 m., Nov. 8, 1951, *Hürlimann 164.*

Nomuka: thicket near shore of lake, along road encircling island, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15856.*

Lifuka: in thicket between road and beach, north of Pangai village, Apr. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15715.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* in thicket along road between Houma village and sea, May 22, 1953, *Yuncker 16122.*

Common throughout Tonga. India, China, and Malaysia to Polynesia.

[?] Including *B. leptopoda* Muell. Arg. *sensu* Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: *koka.*

The bark furnishes a dye used in coloring tapa; the stems are used for [386]
posts and so forth. [313]

Genus **Claoxylon** Jussieu [417]

Claoxylon parvicoccum Croizat, Sargentia 1: 49, 1942. [824]

Tree up to 8 m. or more tall, the branchlets and leaves glabrous. Leaves alternate, elliptic-ovate, acuminate, the base acute to long-cuneate, 12-15 cm. or more long and 5-8 cm. wide, sharply crenately toothed, pinnately nerved, the petiole up to 8 cm. or more long. Flowers unisexual, in slender, spicate clusters.

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[1] /Glochidion ramiflorum -- Analyst/

137 Tongatapu: *Forster;* forest near village of Niutoua, Mar. 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15168.*

'Eua: open forest along trail between Pangai village and Fuai, Mar. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15486.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Niuatoputapu: near township of Vaipoa, on road to Falehau, alt. 5 m., Dec. 7, 1951, *Hürlimann 377.*

Occasional throughout Tonga. Malaya, New Guinea, and Polynesia.

Tongan name: *tava.*

Varieties are recognized under the following names: *tava kula, tava moli, tava toua.*

[824] [313] [342] [262] [278] The timber[1] is used in house construction, for tapa pounders, for banana shooks, and so on; the fruit is sometimes eaten; and the bark is used in medicine for "stomach troubles."

Genus **Guioa** Cavanilles

Guioa lentiscifolia Cavanilles, Icones Descr. Pl. 4: 50, pl. 373, 1797.

Small tree 3-5.5 m. tall, young twigs, leaves, and so forth puberulent. Leaves alternate, pinnately compound, leaflets varying in number, apex rounded, obtuse to acute, base narrowed and decurrent on very short petiolule, up to 6 cm. long and 3 cm. wide but mostly smaller, pinnately nerved, midrib prominent, lateral nerves slender, submarginally loop-connected. Flowers small, white, in terminal and axillary, paniculate clusters; fruit strongly lobed, up to 2 cm. wide.

'Eua: seaward margin of forest on terrace above village of Houma on northwestern side of island, alt. about 160 m., Mar. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15503;* thicket, edge of forest above Fuai plantation, near center of island, Mar. 29, 1953, *Yuncker 15545.*

Vava'u: near upper rim of seaside cliff above Ha'alaufuli on northeastern side of island, alt. about 120 m., May 21, 1953, *Yuncker 16106.*

Tongan name: *'olive.*

The cited specimens certainly appear to represent the endemic described and [113] illustrated by Cavanilles and further briefly discussed by Radlkofer (Sitzber. Math.-Phys. Kl. Akad. Wiss. München 9: 608, 1879; Pflanzenr. 98 [IV. 165]: 1158, 1933). It may be noted that Radlkofer defines *Guioa* as having squamate petals, but Cavanilles gives no indication of this character in his description or plate, and the material now dissected (*Yuncker 15503*) shows the petals to be esquamate. As *G. lentiscifolia* is the genotype, a revision of Radlkofer's circumscription is a matter for the future monographer to consider. Actually, on the basis of other characters, the many species now referred to *Guioa* seem correctly placed, but less dependence upon petal characters may [113] be indicated. Possibly this is the species listed by Hemsley (Linn. Soc. Bot. Jour. 30: 172, 1894) and Burkill (op. cit. 35: 33, 1901) as *Guioa glauca*

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[1] /Pometia pinnata -- Analyst/

(Labillardière) Radlkofer; but that species is apparently limited to New 137 Caledonia, in spite of Radlkofer's inclusion in its synonymy of the mysterious Tongan "*Guaiacum dubium* Forst. f."

Guaiacum dubium Forst. f. (Fl. Ins. Australia, Prodr., 32, 1786) was [113] originally described as "Foliis coniugatis oblongolanceolatis obtusis." Fortunately a photograph of Forster's specimen in the British Museum (Natural History) is available, through the kindness of Dr. G. Taylor, and it indicates that the very poor specimen is a mixture. The detached fruits seem to represent a species of *Guioa*, very likely *G. lentiscifolia*, whereas the leaves (mostly detached) apparently do not represent Sapindaceae. For the time being, no alternative suggestion can be made. The name may thus be rejected under Article 76 of the International Code (1952). Certainly the epithet should not be used to replace either *G. lentiscifolia* or *G. glauca* (A. C. Smith).

Genus **Elattostachys** Radlkofer

Elattostachys falcata (Seemann) Radlkofer, Sapindaceen Höll.-Ind., 42, 1877.

Large forest tree. Leaves alternate, pinnate, leaflets 10 or more, falcately lanceolate, acuminate, base obliquely inequilateral, entire, up to 15 cm. long and 5 cm. wide, somewhat coriaceous, petiolules up to about 1 cm. long. Flowers white, small, in terminal or axillary, paniculate clusters.

Tongatapu: *Moseley;* open forest, roadside below village of Niutoua, Mar. 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15120;* in coastal forest near Ha'akame village, Mar. 12, 1953, *Yuncker 15270, 15277.*

'Eua: in forest above Fuai plantation, near center of island, Mar. 18, 1953, *Yuncker 15315.*

Kao: open forest on steep, rocky slope, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15898.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* near upper rim of steep seaside cliff, above Ha'alaufuli, May 21, 1953, *Yuncker 16100.*

Niuafo'ou: forest, slope above great lake, toward Futu, alt. 20 m., Jan. 7, 1952, *Hürlimann 669.*

Tafahi: forest, below township of Tafahi toward Hou, alt. 20 m., Dec. 17, 1951, *Hürlimann 583.*

Frequent throughout Tonga in forested areas. Also in Fiji, Niue, and Samoa.

Ratonia falcata Seem., and probably also as *R. stipitata* Benth., in Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: *ngatata.*

The tree furnishes a good timber for general construction purposes, for [824] banana shooks, for handicraft work, and other objects. [313]

to 5 cm. long, with several prominent glands, stipules ovate, acute, about 4 cm. long. Flowers large, axillary, purplish, fragrant; fruit oblong, up to nearly 30 cm. long, yellowish green, rind 2 cm. or more thick, central cavity filled with numerous seeds, each surrounded by juicy, edible pulp. 137

'Eua: on trellis near dwelling in Pangai village, Apr. 7, 1953, *Yuncker 15665.*

Occasional in cultivation. A tropical American species now widely cultivated in tropical countries for its fruit.

Tongan name: *pasione.*

Passiflora samoensis Exell, Jour. Bot. **63**: 203. 1925.

Glabrous, tendril-bearing vine. Leaves alternate, broadly ovate or rounded-cordate in outline, palmately three-lobed, with rounded sinus and cuspidate lobes, up to 10 cm. or more long, palmately three-nerved, petioles up to 8 cm. or more long, with a pair of glands near base of blade. Flowers axillary, solitary, greenish to red or yellow, calyx and corolla segments linear, gynophore about 2.5 cm. long, pedicel with two or three filiform appendages near middle.

Kao: covering weeds and shrubs in open area on lower slope, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15942.*

Infrequent. Also in Niue and Samoa.

Passiflora subpeltata Ortega, Nov. Rar. Pl. Horti Matritensis **6**: 78, 1798.

Glabrous, weak-stemmed, tendril-bearing, herbaceous vine. Leaves alternate, broadly ovate in outline, deeply three-lobed, lobes oblong, obtuse, entire, sinus acutish, somewhat glaucous beneath, palmately five-nerved, petiole slender, up to 4 or 5 cm. long, with two to four small glands. Flowers white, 3 cm. or more wide; fruit green to yellow, subglobose, 3-4 cm. in diameter, stalked.

Tongatapu: in thicket, near Vaini village, Feb. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15055.*

Locally rather common. A tropical American species now widely distributed in warm countries.

Tongan name: *vaine 'ae kuma.*

Hemsley (Linn. Soc. Bot., Jour. **30**: 178, 1895) lists a collection by Cook as *Disemma caerulescens* Seem. and states: "This differs very slightly from New Zealand and Fijian species, and a revision of the group would probably result in the reduction of some of the forms described as species; therefore, I forbear giving it a name under *Passiflora,* of which *Disemma* is now generally regarded as a section." The Cook specimen has not been examined, and no further information relative to the present status of this plant has been found. [113]

FAMILY CARICACEAE

Genus Carica Linnaeus

Carica papaya Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 1036, 1753.

Mostly unbranched, treelike plant, up to 4 m. or more tall, stems thick, soft-wooded, latex milky. Leaves clustered near top, round in outline, large, deeply palmately seven- or nine-lobed, the lobes in turn acuminately toothed and lobed, petioles long. Flowers

137 Also in Fiji. For a discussion of this species see Lily M. Perry (Jour.
[113] Arnold Arboretum 31: 363-364, 1950).

Syzygium clusiaefolium (A. Gray) C. Mueller, Walpers Ann. Bot. Syst. 4: 839. 1857.

Tree, up to 8 m. or more tall. Leaves opposite, oval or oval-obovate, apex rounded, obtuse to short-acute, base acute to cuneate, up to 15 cm. long and 8 cm. wide, coriaceous, entire, pinnately nerved, lateral nerves numerous, very slender, joining with a submarginal nerve, petiole about 1 cm. long, canaliculate. Flowers small, numerous, in large, open, paniculate clusters, borne on trunk and larger branches; fruit ovoid, up to 1 cm. or more in diameter, dark purple, edible.

Tongatapu: swampy area between village of Navutoka and sea, Feb. 27, 1953, *Yuncker 15085.*

'Eua: in open forest near center of island, Mar. 19, 1953, *Yuncker 15386.*

Kao: in forest on rocky slope, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15907.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* near upper rim of seaside cliff above Ha'alaufuli, May 21, 1953, *Yuncker 16108.*

Niuafo'ou: inner slope of main crater, facing large central lake, May 16, 1953, *Yuncker 16005.*

Rather frequent throughout the group. Also in Niue and Samoa.

Eugenia clusiaefolia A. Gr. in Hemsley's list, *fide* Burkill.

Syzygium corynocarpum (A. Gray) C. Mueller, Walpers, Ann. Bot. Syst. 4: 839. 1857.

Shrub or small tree, up to 7 m. or more tall. Leaves opposite, elliptic or oblong-elliptic, bluntly acuminate, base acute, up to 14 or 15 cm. long and 5 cm. wide but mostly smaller, pinnately nerved, lateral nerves slender and submarginally loop-connected, paler on lower surface, petioles 5 mm. long, canaliculate. Flowers sessile or subsessile; fruit elongated, beaked.

Tongatapu: *Home;* in open forested area near village of Niutoua, Mar. 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15166.*

'Eua: in open forest along trail between Pangai village and Fuai, Mar. 25, 1953, *Yuncker 15469.*

Nomuka: in clearing near road encircling island, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15833.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Occasional throughout Tonga. Also in Fiji and Samoa.

Tongan name: *hehea.*

[824] The timber is used for construction purposes; the fruit is eaten and used
[313] for leis; and the leaves and bark are used in medicines.

[262]

[301] **Syzygium cumini** (Linnaeus) Skeels, U.S. Dept. Agric., Bur. Pl. Ind., Bull.
[278] 248: 25, 1912.

Shrub or medium to large tree. Leaves opposite, oblong to oval, obtuse or acute, 8-14 cm. long and 3-6 cm. wide, rather thick and shining, pinnately nerved. Flowers

Genus **Chrysophyllum** Linnaeus

137 **Chrysophyllum cainito** Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 192, 1753.

Tree, up to 20 m. tall, twigs golden-brown-puberulent. Leaves distichous, elliptic to elliptic-oblong, sharply acute or obtuse, base acute, entire, pinnately nerved, lateral nerves very slender, shiny dark green above, silky pubescent and golden brown beneath, the petioles 1-2 cm. long. Flowers greenish to yellow or purplish, numerous, in axillary fascicles; fruit subglobose, up to 8 or 10 cm. in diameter, subjuicy, seeds brown, about 2 cm. long.

Tongatapu: edge of Fatai village, Mar. 10, 1953, *Yuncker 15260* (only specimen seen).

A tropical American species now widely distributed in warm countries.

Genus **Manilkara** Adanson

Manilkara dissecta (Linnaeus f.) Dubard, Mus. Colon. Marseille, Ann. III, 3: 13, 1915.

Tree, up to 10 m. or more tall, young branches somewhat gummy. Leaves clustered toward ends of branches, elliptic-obovate or ovate, up to 10 cm. long, silky-white-pubescent beneath, the petioles comparatively long. Flowers scarcely 1 cm. long, in pedunculate, axillary clusters; fruit fleshy, up to 2.5 cm. long.

Tongatapu: tree about 6 m. tall, stem about 35 cm. in diameter, flowers white, fruit small, red, wood hard, used for posts, in sandy soil in Navutoka village on northeastern side of island, Feb. 10, 1954, *W. T. Ha'angana* [*Yuncker 16281*].

Tongan name: *ngesi*.

113 The cited specimen agrees very well with the description by H. J. Lam (Blumea 4: 325, 1941), wherein the Tongan-Samoan element of the species is referred to var. *typica* Maas Geester., a designation which, under the 1952 Code, will be replaced by var. *dissecta*, in case the view prevails that var. *pancheri* (Baill.) Maas Geester. is actually conspecific. The species is typified by a Tongan specimen collected by Forster and is also recorded from Tongatapu on the basis of a U.S. Exploring Expedition specimen; we have not located the latter in the National Herbarium, but Lam has cited a duplicate from the Kew herbarium. The species is apparently infrequent in Tonga. (A. C. Smith.)

FAMILY EBENACEAE

Genus **Diospyros** Linnaeus

Diospyros ellipticifolia (Stokes) Bakhuisen var. **elliptica** (Forster) Fosberg, Torrey Bot. Club, Bull. 65: 611, 1938.

Tree with elliptic, obtuse leaves, dull and venulose above.

Tongatapu: *Forster*.
'Eua: *Lister*.
Vava'u: *Harvey*.

Tongatapu: *Nelson;* near Niutoua village, Mar 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15141.* 137

'Eua: in forest on seaward side of cliff above Houma village, Mar. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15509.*

Kao: lower margin of forest near an old plantation, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15969.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Occasional throughout Tonga at low altitudes. Philippines, Micronesia, and New Caledonia east to the Societies and Marquesas.

O. parviflora (Forst.) Hemsl. in Hemsley's and Burkill's lists.

Tongan name: *fao.*

The wood[1] is used for construction work and the leaves to wrap fish for baking. The seeds are edible. [824] [313] [252] [262]

Genus **Bleekeria** Hasskarl

Bleekeria vitiensis (Markgraf) A. C. Smith, Torrey Bot. Club, Bull. 70: 549, 1943.

Tree up to 7 m. or more tall, latex white. Leaves whorled, elliptic-oblanceolate, acute, base cuneate-decurrent, up to 12 cm. or more long and 3 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, lateral nerves very slender, somewhat coriaceous, petiole about 1 cm. long, ridged by decurrent blade margins. Flowers white, in axillary cymose clusters; fruit compressed-elliptic, in pairs, about 4 cm. long and 2 cm. wide.

Vava'u on upper rim of seaside cliff above Ha'alaufuli on northeastern side of island, alt. about 120 m., May 21, 1953, *Yuncker 16107.*

Tongan name: *toto hina.*

The cited specimen, with both flowers and fruits, does not differ essentially from the specimens listed by Markgraf as *Excavatia vitiensis* (B. P. Bishop [113]
Mus., Bull. 141: 127, fig. 66, *b, c,* 1936) from the Lau Islands of Fiji. A probable record of this species in Tonga was noted by Burkill (Linn. Soc. Bot., [113]
Jour. 35: 46, 1901) as *Ochrosia elliptica* Labill., a species properly known as *Bleekeria elliptica* (Labill.) Koidz. and perhaps occurring no farther east than the larger islands of Fiji. (A. C. Smith.)

Genus **Cerbera** Linnaeus

Cerbera manghas Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 208, 1753.

Small tree, up to 7 m. or more tall. Leaves simple, entire, glossy, spirally and closely arranged, lanceolate or obovate-lanceolate, acuminate, base acute-decurrent, up to 20-30 cm. long and 5-8 cm. wide, petiole 2-3 cm. long, narrowly winged by decurrent blade margins. Flowers in long-pedunculate, branching, terminal clusters, corolla salverform, white with yellow throat, 3 cm. or more wide, aromatic; fruit oval or elliptical, large, smooth, black when ripe.

Tongatapu: *Moseley;* in thicket along strand below Navutoka village, Feb. 27, 1953, *Yuncker 15106.*

[1] /Ochrosia oppositifolia -- Analyst/

original description and *Wilder 751*, from the type locality. The new species 137
differs from *I. bracteata* in having its leaves with shorter petioles and proportionately broader blades, in its stipules being shorter and more abruptly aristate, in having its calyx strictly glabrous rather than puberulent without, and in its subglobose rather than long-ellipsoid fruit. Fosberg (B. P. Bishop Mus., [113]
Occ. Papers 13: 265-275, 1937) has discussed several of the species of section *Phylleilema* growing in southeastern Polynesia, including *I. bracteata*. This species and *I. fragrans* (Hooker and Arnott) A. Gray seem to be the closest allies of our new species, but *I. fragrans* is far removed geographically and has a corolla tube only 12-14 mm. long. As Fosberg remarks, the species of this alliance are difficult to delimit at present. The new Tongan species is not closely allied to anything I have seen from Fiji or Tonga.

Ixora finlaysoniana Wallich, Cat. no. 6166, 1828.

Small tree, about 4 m. tall. Leaves opposite, obovate or oblanceolate, obtuse, base cuneate, up to 15 cm. long and 5 cm. wide, rather thick, petiole stout, scarcely 1 cm. long, ridged by decurrent blade margins. Flowers numerous, in compact, terminal and axillary, cymose clusters, calyx deeply cleft, corolla tube very slender, about 3 cm. long, limb spreading to about 1 cm. or more, white, fragrant.

Lifuka: roadside near north end of island, May 11, 1953, *Yuncker 15986*. Presumably an escape from cultivation.

Ceylon.

Ixora samoensis A. Gray, Am. Acad. Arts Sci., Proc. 4: 40, 1858.

Glabrous shrub or small tree, up to 4 m. tall. Leaves opposite, elliptic, acute or obtusish at both ends, 10 cm. or more long and 4 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, petiole scarcely 1 cm. long, stipules long-aristate-subulate, calyx teeth subulate, corolla glabrous.

'Eua: *Lister;* in forest along trail to summit of eastern ridge, Mar. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15557*.

Vava'u: *Crosby* [?].

Infrequent. Also in Samoa.

Probably the same as *I. samoensis* var. *glabricalyx* Burk. in Burkill's list.

Tongan name: ***hunivao***.

Ixora yunckeri A. C. Smith, sp. nov. (fig. 14).

Frutex vel arbor ad 4 m. alta, ramulis glabris teretibus cinereis vel brunneis apices versus 1-3 mm. diametro; stipulis liberis papyraceis 3-4 mm. longis glabris e basi ovato aristatis, pilis paucis castaneis ad 1 mm. longis supra cicatricibus relictis; foliis glabris, petiolis brevibus supra sulcatis 1-3 (-4) mm. longis, laminis subcoriaceis vel papyraceis in sicco olivaceis ellipticis, 3-5 cm. longis et 1.5-3 cm. latis (interdum 2-7 × 1-4 cm.), basi acutis et in petiolum decurrentibus, apice late obtusis vel subacutis, margine integris incrassatis leviter recurvatis, costa supra leviter subtus valde elevata, nervis secundariis utrinsecus 5-8 patentibus anastomosantibus utrinque prominulis, rete venularum immerso vel inconspicue prominulo; inflorescentiis terminalibus 3-floris, basi bracteis binis foliaceis subtentis, bracteis orbiculari-ovatis, 13-27 mm. longis, 12-21 mm. latis, basi rotundatis vel

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 255]

Kao: sprawling over rocks near summit, alt. about 900 m., flowers white, May 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15928* (type in U.S. Nat. Herb., no. 2128505). 137

Tongan name: *ngahu'uta.*

The very distinct plant here described is not closely allied to other species of the region, being best placed in the section *Xerocarpaea* G. Don, according [113] to Krause's treatment [Pflanzenr. 54 (IV. 277): 117-168, 1912]. Here its relationship seems to be with *S. suaveolens* R. Brown and *S. gracilis* Hooker f., of Australia and the Kermadec Islands respectively. From both of these it differs in its softer and less copious indument, its glabrous calyx with usually inconspicuous lobes, its corolla with a closer indument, and its less obviously pilose style with the indusium obscurely ciliolate. It is noteworthy that *S. suaveolens* has five approximately equal calyx lobes, whereas the calyx of *S. gracilis* is said to have three subulate lobes and two smaller ones. The calyx of the new species commonly has the five calyx lobes very inconspicuous, but sometimes a single one is elongate and lanceolate. The relationship of *S. porrecta* to species of the general region, of the section *Sarcocarpaca* G. Don, such as the New Caledonian *S. montana* Labillardière and the Fijian *S. floribunda* A. Gray, is remote.

FAMILY COMPOSITAE

Genus **Vernonia** Schreber

Vernonia cinerea (Linnaeus) Lessing, Linnaea 4: 291, 1827.

Simple or branched, slightly hairy herb, up to 75 cm. or more tall. Leaves alternate, elliptic to obovate or ovate-oblong, up to 6-8 cm. long, narrowed down to a winged petiole. Flower heads purplish, 5-8 mm. wide, on slender peduncles, in terminal or axillary, corymbose-paniculate clusters, pappus of white, capillary bristles.

Tongatapu: weed in plantation near sea below Fu'amotu village, June 5, 1953, *Yuncker 16240;* roadside near Lavengatonga village, Mar. 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15182.*

'Eua: weed in grazing area near center of island, Mar. 22, 1953, *Yuncker 15419.*

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

A weed of plantations and waste areas throughout Tonga. A weed of the Old World tropics now pantropic in distribution.

V. insularum Benth. and Hook. in Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: *fisipuna.*

Genus **Elephantopus** Linnaeus

Elephantopus mollis H.B.K., Nov. Gen. Sp. Pl. 4: 26, 1820.

Coarse, hairy herb up to 2 m. tall. Leaves alternate, elliptic-obovate, acute, narrowing downward to form a winged petiolar base, serrate, soft-hairy, up to 15 cm. or more long,

278 is derived in part from synergistic effects
757 between plants must not be overlooked.

Acknowledgments

122 I am grateful to the Hawaiian Botanical Gardens Foundation for the initial financial assistance that helped in starting the original research, and to Dr. Hobart M. Van Deusen of the Archbold Expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History for generous support. I wish also to thank Professor Ted R. Norton and Professor Terence A. Rogers for securing the major financial assistance in the form of PHS grant GM-15198. .000 To Beatrice Krauss I owe the spiritual inspiration that led me to Tonga.

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NOTES

[1] The writer acknowledges with gratitude the help received from many 000
people in Tonga and elsewhere while collecting the material for this chapter. Particular acknowledgement is made to the staff of the Lands and Survey Department, the Honourable Mahe Tupouniua, Mr 'Iteni Helu, Dr Sione Latukefu, Mr Tangata Lakepa and Professor R. G. Crocombe, who do not, of course, share any responsibility for the opinions expressed here.

[2] The correct term for this group in pre-contact Tonga is uncertain and 175
today Tongans use the word *famili*, from English, or *matakali*, which is 613
of Fijian origin. The term *fa'ahinga* is used by Latukefu (1967).

[3] The *matapule* are the chief's attendants and spokesmen; *foha* and *tehina* [565]
are minor titles under a chief.

[4] The crosses mark allotments held by persons not belonging to the same 423
fa'ahinga as the rest of the landholders in that area. [613]

[5] On a government estate the process of obtaining land has generally been
less difficult, but in recent years most of these estates, especially in Tonga- [425]
tapu, have had few vacant allotments.

[6] These figures are from the preliminary results of the 1966 census, by 113
courtesy of the Census Commissioner, Mr N. Fiefia.

[7] It may be noted here that there are several references to the planting of 423
coconuts having stopped in the first decade of this century (because mal- 182
administration of land matters by the King and the estate-holders made 178
people feel insecure in their tenure), which suggests that previously plant-
ing had been common. On the other hand, the registration of allotments 245
does not appear to have begun until 1898, and registration on a significant scale did not begin until about 1915.

[8] But note that by law an estate-holder may reserve part of his estate for 423
himself and the successors to his title and, since the regulation provided 182
for in the Land Act to determine the area of this *'api fakatofi'a* has never 427
been made, some retain personal holdings of up to 200 or 300 acres,
although part of this land is being used by villagers and others. 565

[9] From the preliminary results of the 1966 census. 000

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stylised etiquette to mark the different roles that a man or woman is 276 574
playing at any one moment' (Gluckman, 1962, pp. 26–7). 554

8. In recent years anthropologists have devoted much attention 565
to conflict and ambivalence and their expression in religion and 276
ritual as well as in everyday affairs. See especially Fortes (1959); 574
Gluckman (1955), (1963) especially the Introduction and Chapter 3 571
entitled 'Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa' and (1965), especially Chapter 6 entitled 'Mystical Disturbance and Ritual Adjustment'; Leach (1965); Turner (1957) and (1964).

One problem of particular relevance is that some rituals incorporate conflict directly into the prescribed events of the ritual whereas others, like the kava ceremony, imply conflict but do not prescribe its enactment. But a comparative discussion of this topic would lead me too far from the immediate problem of the kava ceremony.

9. On the differentiation of 'good' and 'bad' as part of normal 276
psychic development, see especially W. R. Bion (1957), (1958), and 574
(1962). See also Hanna Segal (1964). On the differentiation of 539 773
symbol from object see Hanna Segal (1957).

10. The early accounts of kava ceremonies in which the kava was 276
chewed instead of pounded do not specify whether the chewing was 574
done only by the 'children' in the outer group or also by the 'younger 154
brothers'. All we know is that the people who did the chewing were in the outer group and that a considerable number of them took part in the chewing. Nowadays only the kava maker does the actual pounding.

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Vava'u

125 c(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:A | B:C:C(D) | (E):A:A | B:C:A | B:C:C | C:–. It should
however be added that no words were given with the tune, and that a wordless
533 tune is a mere ghost of a melody for most " Trinesians," so that the test was hardly
177 a fair one. A similar test made in Fiji, with words extemporized, was far more
[171] successful, and is dealt with in the paper mentioned in the Bibliography.

(13) A considerable amount of music is being composed in Tonga to-day, showing
533 strong Western influence. In Thomson's time, their songs were " boating-songs,
177 odes to Nature or to flowers, or laments, but never love-songs." To-day the favoured
subjects are patriotic ditties, love-songs, and songs to Nature, in that order.

When harmonized by the composer, as a rule the alto and tenor parts tend to follow the melody, rarely striking out any melodic line of their own: very frequently the alto is merely a succession of thirds below the melody, as in the example D, and, as Thomson wrote, " A procession of consecutive fifths seems to afford them peculiar delight." The bass is the important part, and is often given a series of duologues with the other three parts combined. These points were well illustrated in a recent choral composition set as a test-piece (far more suitably than foreign music) for the singing competition already mentioned.

The favouritism shown to the basses is justified by their excellence, both in
quality and range; one bass complained to me that he could sing " only " two octaves
really well, from middle C down; another happily produced *four* octaves, from
A below the bass clef upwards, with a very smooth transition to a strikingly pure
[534] falsetto. Favouritism is also shown in the hymn-singing, many of the tunes being
pitched somewhat high for the sake of the basses; there are, Heaven be praised,
no organs or other instruments in Tongan churches, and the choirmaster has merely
a pitch-pipe to guide him. It is most sincerely to be hoped that no false ideas of
progress, no pseudo-sophistication, may bring in organs or bands to spoil what is
undoubtedly the best part-singing in the Pacific.

Another " progress " threatened is the production of a tune-book in the numerical sol-fa notation, especially undesirable should it merely transcribe from the Western hymn books the " correct " tunes and harmonies; if so, it is to be hoped that Tongan musical obstinacy will be able to ignore these in favour of their own traditional variants.

Postscript.—The suspected original for the first tune to " Tau mai ya " is the
plainsong " Tonus Peregrinus," used for Psalm 114 (" In exitu Israel ") only, and
[795] adapted also as an Anglican chant for this psalm. But there is no Anglican church
on Vava'u, nor is this plainsong used in the Roman Catholic church there—and at
most it could be heard once a month only.

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R. RAVEN-HART.

565 forces generated through Tupou's reforms. Formal respects vested in titled
571 office itself are not affected by or sensitive to this infiltration, which is reflected
178 in the diverse degrees of *sino'i 'eiki* and informal chiefly status attribution
554 among the individuals who enjoy the rewards and legal privileges of holding
noble office. Although there is this diversity among title-holders concerning
the degree to which any particular individual title-holder can be considered
personally of aristocratic status, the succession cases have nonetheless served to
instill generally the impression of inherent sameness or homogeneity with the
rest of the population of those occupying positions within a sector of privilege
that Tupou had provisionally exempted from his levelling reforms.

565 The concept of chiefly honour survives in Tonga in a much more elaborate
554 form than, for example, in Samoa. There, the core of chiefly honour is the
171 *matai* title, which defines an effective leadership position or office that is still
presumably controlled in appointment within its associated kin group. In Tonga,
565 the chiefly status of the title is undercut by the more authentically valued *'eiki*
honour derived from aristocratic blood descent. Squeezed between a surviving
554 "purer" criterion of aristocratic honour on one side and the disappearance of
178 effective chiefly authority on the other, noble title honour and resources in
[571] themselves have become a special prize of limited access within the overall
structure of new opportunities for social mobility among a homogeneously
organized population of independent family units. The succession cases are an
important manifestation of the inclusion of at least the gentry nobility within
the westernizing trends of the post-1875 compromise culture in Tonga.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE.

121 This book is intended for the use of secondary schools in Tonga
127 and is based entirely on the following authorities:—

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Sir Thomas Henley, of Sydney, has kindly lent the block of the Ha'amoga Trilithon and the Diagram of Falcon Island.

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000 History, University of Newcastle, N.S.W.; Dr. Alan Tippett, Fuller Theological Seminary School of World Mission, Pasadena, California; the Revs. E. W. Hames and G. G. Carter, of Auckland; the Rev. Dr. S. 'A. Havea, President of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, and the Revs. G. C. Harris, A. E. McKay, R. A. W. Woodgate, H. W. Secomb, and Geoffrey Cummins, formerly of Tonga; the Revs. R. W. Allardice and N. H. Mapperson, formerly of Samoa; the family of the late Mr. J. B. Minns (son of the Rev. George Minns, missionary in Tonga) who gave his years of retirement to investigating the family records of all missionaries in Tonga; the Overseas Missions Secretaries and staffs in Sydney and Melbourne; the library staffs of the Palace Records, Nuku'alofa; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the La Trobe Library, Melbourne; Queen's College Library, University of Melbourne; the National Library, Canberra; the Department of Pacific History, Australian National University, Canberra; the Western Pacific High Commission archives, Suva, Fiji; the Free Wesleyan Church records, Nuku'alofa, Tonga. The Rev. Rex Mathias has very generously helped me with the reading of proofs. My daughters, Janet and Elizabeth, have been of invaluable assistance.

[113] Maps (facing pp. 1 and 251) are reproduced from Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1877-1914* (ANU Press 1967), pp. 54 and 83.

A. HAROLD WOOD.

Mont Albert, Victoria,
18th August, 1975.

NOTES ON METHODIST NOMENCLATURE

797 "Wesleyan" is used in this history instead of "Methodist" or "Wesleyan Methodist", before the end of the 19th Century. It was the name always used in the Pacific Islands and is still the name commonly used in many cases. No other branch of Methodism (Primitive Methodist, for instance) appeared in the Pacific. After the union of Methodism in Australasia in 1902, the term "Methodist" is used instead of "Wesleyan" in this history.

The "Missionary Committee" (or "Mission Board") in London, and afterwards a similar Committee in Sydney, supervised the operations in the mission areas. The executive officers were "Missionary Secretaries" (or "General Secretaries").

Each Mission area was called a District, with its "District Meeting" (later called the Synod) and its senior missionary as Chairman. These Districts, for purposes of ministerial direction and discipline, were attached to the Australian Church (after 1855) through the New South Wales and Queensland Conference (after 1893, the New South Wales Conference). The Missionary Committee or Mission Board also was subject to this Conference which met annually in Sydney and was a much larger body than the Missionary Committee. Each year a new President of Conference was elected.

The General Conference, which met every three or four years, consisted of representatives from the Annual Conferences of the various Colonies (or States, after Federation). This was the General Conference of the Wesleyan Church until union took place in 1902. Until it separated in 1913, New Zealand was part of the General Conference.

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M.O.M.C.	Methodist Overseas Missions Collection, Mitchell Library.
W.P.H.C.	Western Pacific High Commission Central Archives, Suva, Fiji.
F.W.C.	Free Wesleyan Church records, Nuku'alofa.
N.L.C.	National Library, Canberra.
A.N.U.	Australian National University, Canberra, Department of Pacific History.
M.N.	"Missionary Notices" (Wesleyan Missionary Magazine, England).

Footnotes:

(1) Coke, *Journal*, p.138, Vickers, T., *Thomas Coke*, p.301 footnote.

(2) Colwell, J., *Illustrated History of Methodism*, p.97.

(3) Hilliard, D., Lecturer in Flinders University, Adelaide, "100 Years of Christian Mission", *Assent*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Feb., 1970. Another view, that the missionaries sought to establish the Israelitish Old Testament system of government, is advocated by H. Geoffrey Cummins in his A.N.U. thesis, *Church and Society in Tonga, 1826-54.*

(4) Grattan, C. H., *The South-West Pacific to 1900, A Modern History*, pp.196-7.

(5) Schweitzer, A., *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, p.177.

(6) Grattan, ibid, p.206.

(7) Neill, S., *Colonialism and Christian Missions*, p.246.

(8) Goodall, N., *Christian Missions and Social Ferment*, p.25.

(9) Wilkinson, R. C., *Methodist Missionary Influence in Native Education in Tonga*, pp.338-9. (M.A. thesis, Sydney University.)

(10) Mead, M., *New Lives for Old, Cultural Transformation in Manus*, 1928-53, p.86.

(11) *Missionary Review*, May, 1946.

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> and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them that they seemed to pique themselves upon the superiority they had over us." (14) 177

Only the ships' fireworks display left the Tongans in stupefied amazement; some *who witnessed this still recalled their feelings to missionaries half a century* later.(15)

Other visits, though less important than Cook's, should be mentioned. Maurelle, a Spaniard, discovered Vava'u on 4 March 1781 and named its spacious anchorage Port Refuge. When Cook was in Ha'apai he had been dissuaded from sailing to Vava'u by the crafty Finau 'Ulukalala who said that Vava'u had a very poor harbour! On 30 May 1793 another Spaniard, Malaspina, arrived at Vava'u; during his stay of eleven days he claimed Vava'u for the king of Spain but this was little more than an empty gesture. Malaspina compiled a [113] Tongan vocabulary.(16)

La Perouse, the gallant but unfortunate French explorer, called at Vava'u and Tongatapu in December 1787 after visiting Samoa.

Bligh's connection with Tonga was the result of the notorious mutiny on the *Bounty*. He had been a lieutenant in Cook's expedition that visited Tonga in 1777. On 28 April 1789, after calling at Nomuka (as others had done because of the fresh water available there), Bligh was put into an open boat with eighteen loyalists. Soon afterwards the dauntless captain landed at Tofua, the volcanic island in the west of the Ha'apai group, to get water and fruit. His quartermaster, John Norton, was killed on shore at Tofua before Bligh set out on his incredible voyage of 3000 miles to Timor. Norton evidently was the first European killed in Tonga.

Edwards, in the *Pandora*, was searching for the *Bounty* and its mutineers in 1791, when he called at Tofua, Vava'u, Niua Fo'ou, and, lastly, Nomuka. The sight of the volcano on Tofua burning at night was regarded as "a very grand spectacle" (17), the surgeon, Hamilton, noted. The crew of the *Pandora* introduced [64] venereal disease into Nomuka when women brought their daughters to the decks in exchange for knives and other presents.(18) Hamilton's summary reflected the opinion that ships' captains had begun to form about the "Friendly Islanders":—

> "The people of Nomuka are the most daring set of robbers in the South Seas and, with the greatest respect and submission to Capt. Cook, I think the name of Friendly Islands is a perfect misnomer." (19)

Labillardiare and D'Entrecasteaux called at Tongatapu in 1793. So high was the esteem felt for La Perouse in France that, even during the Revolutionary Wars in which it was facing the armed might of many European Powers, the French Government sent this expedition to the South Seas to search for the lost explorer. Several Tongans were killed in a quarrel with sailors from these French ships.

The contacts of Tongans with European visitors thus far had not shown uniformly beneficial results. The next contacts were with missionaries of the [797] London Missionary Society who came, not as visitors, but as intending residents and advocates of change.

Footnotes

(1) Thomas, John, *History of the Friendly Islands,* p.1, A.1961. MLS.

(2) Luke, Sir Harry, *Islands of the South Pacific.* 113

(3) Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise.* p.3.

(4) W. W. Howells, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University, believes that the first Polynesians came to Tonga through Micronesia about 2000 B.C. Carbon-testing by Jans Poulsen, of Denmark and the Australian National University, Canberra, indicated 500 B.C. as the date for middens he found in Tongatapu in 1965. See also Gifford, E. W., *Tongan Myths and Tales,* Bishop Museum, Honolulu, pp.8 &c., for stories common to Tonga, Indonesia and Micronesia; Gifford, *Tongan Society,* p.350, for comparison of ancient Tongan and Japanese social instiutions: Collocott, E. E. V., *An Experiment in Tongan History,* Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3; Hadden, A. B. and Hornell, J., *Canoes of Oceania,* Bishop Museum, pp.339-44, regarding migration of the Polynesians through Indonesia and Micronesia; Sullivan, L. M., *A Contribution to Tongan Somatology,* Bishop Museum, Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp.255-7; Buck, Peter, *Vikings of the Sunrise*; and Heyerdahl, Thor, *Sea Routes to Polynesia,* for another theory of migration. [172] [174]

(5) Gifford, ibid; Collocott, ibid: *"Folk Lore,"*, Translations of the Folk-Lore Society, Vol. 35, No. 3, 30 September 1924, pp.279 &c.

(6) Although a tradition states that the stones were brought in a great canoe, Lomipeau, from Uvea, which is actually a volcanic island, the stones were probably obtained from the coral reefs of Tongatapu itself. The transport of the huge stones on rollers and the erection of these monuments, using only stone axes, must have been very laborious. McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga,* Bishop Museum, gives details of the tombs and the trilithon; and Collocott also. The present king, Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, has shown that the markings on the cross-piece of the trilithon point in the direction of the sun at the summer and winter solstices and evidently denoted the times for yam-planting and for giving first-fruits as a sacred duty to the Tu'i Tonga. [173] [349] [821] [241] [651]

(7) For further particulars on Tongan society, see Gifford, Collocott, and Latukefu, S., *Church and State in Tonga.*

(8) An example of this is the survival of a shipwrecked Tongan crew for 103 days in 1962 on Minerva Reef. Ruhen, Olaf, *Minerva Reef.*

(9) Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands,* p.33, A.1961. M.L.S.

(10) For further particulars of Tongan religion, see Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. 12, art. "Tongans". Dr. J. E. Moulton; Mariner, W., *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, &c.,* Vol. 2, pp.132 &c.: Gifford, *Tongan Society,* pp.287-347; Thomas, J., *History of the Friendly Islands,* A.1961, M.L.S.; West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia,* pp.255 &c.; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands,* pp.125 &c.

(11) Cook, J., *Voyages of Discovery,* Everyman Edition, p.290.

(12) Zimmermann, H., *Account of Third Voyage of Captain Cook,* p.17.

(13) Cook, ibid, pp.287-8.

(14) Cook, ibid, p.265.

(15) Rabone, S., *Journal,* 27 July 1841. Set 47. M.O.M.C.

(16) Langdon, Robert, *Journal of Pacific History,* Vol. 1, 1966, p.186.

(17) Edwards & Hamilton, *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora, 1790-1,* p.135.

(18) Edwards & Hamilton, ibid, p.134.

(19) Edwards & Hamilton, ibid, p.132.

[1800-

Tongatapu. If Tahiti had proved an unsuitable field and if conditions in Tongatapu 175
were more favourable, he was instructed to take all the missionaries to Tongatapu 797
"as a refuge for the whole of our brethren".[5] Instead of being able to fulfil these instructions he found that the Mission in Tongatapu had ended in complete failure.

Vason, who had accompanied Finau 'Ulukalala to Vava'u after a lull in the fighting in Tongatapu, was able to get a passage on the same ship, *Royal Admiral*, when it called at Vava'u in August 1801. In England he sincerely repented of his apostasy and his participation in the savage conflicts in Tongatapu. Thenceforth he lived a quiet Christian life and was Governor of Nottingham Gaol for some years. During this time he wrote his *Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Existence at Tongatapu*,∧which narrated the experiences of the L.M.S. missionaries.

Conditions in Tonga deteriorated still further in the next few years, with 175
repeated attacks on Tongatapu and the destruction of plantations by Finau 669
'Uluakalala's marauding parties. Most of the people in that island lived in forts
for safety, and practically no planting was done for fear of being ambushed in
the gardens. The consequence was famine, more terrible than any known before [731]
these disastrous years. Famine raged in Ha'apai also. The cannibalism practised [266]
out of bravado during the fighting was extended even to the eating of the flesh
of relatives, because of the desperate plight of the famine-stricken people. It has [165]
been estimated that more than one-fourth of the population of Tonga died in
the period 1799-1820 as victims of war and famine. The early Wesleyan [161]
missionaries noted as an evidence of the depopulation of Tongatapu that females [162]
outnumbered males approximately two to one.

Footnotes:

(1) Newbury, C. M., edition of John Davies, *History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830*, Vol. I, p. xxix. 113
(2) Lovett, R., *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, Vol. I, p.64.
(3) McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga*, p.122.
(4) Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.122.
(5) Haweis, Dr. Thomas, *Papers; Royal Admiral Journal*, A.1963. M.L.S.

∧ /see 12: Vason, this file -- Analyst/

[ca. 1820-1865]

and his ability as a general and a navigator showed the best qualities that such an age could produce. In middle life he was quick to see the benefits that Christianity and European civilization would bring to his country. In his old age he showed wisdom in adapting new forms and institutions to the needs of his kingdom. His record was not free from blemishes, the faults of the age in which he grew up. In spite of this, there is no doubt that his ideals were those of his country's well-being. If he had not united Tonga, this small, scattered group would not have withstood the tide of European aggression sweeping over the Pacific. 175 643

From the time of Taufa'ahau's conversion to Christianity he had a new motive for the development of Tonga as a responsible Christian country, and in pursuing this aim he found his allies in the Wesleyan missionaries. [797]

Footnotes: 113

(1) Thomson, Basil, in Introduction to Edwards & Hamilton, *Voyage of H.M.S. Pandora, 1790-1*, p.13.

(2) Mariner, W. (Martin), *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, Vol. I, p.54; Maudslay, *Life in the Pacific 50 years Ago*, p.247 — for reference to the loss of the silver plate.

(3) Collocott, E. E. V., *An Experiment in Tongan History*, p.181.

[1823-1850]

Yet, even in another sense, Lawry's work had been of some value. He had 797 proved that a missionary in a new field must have a colleague and that there should be regular visits of ships with supplies. He emphasized these considerations to the Committee in his reports.

Lawry's first concern on his return was to refute the Committee's allegations and to defend his reputation. Accordingly he went to London, on his own initiative, to meet the Committee. He did not take up the new appointment given him in Van Diemen's Land. In London he defended himself successfully against all the charges. He had taken with him a Tongan boy, and had done this also without authority; this boy, baptized Watson Nau, was sent back after a little schooling in England and became a useful preacher in Tonga.

On Christmas Day 1825, Lawry lost his devoted wife Mary, only twenty-five years of age. He remained in English circuit appointments until 1843 when the British Conference appointed him General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in New Zealand, Tonga and Fiji; this in itself was evidence of fully restored confidence in him. During his visits to Tonga in 1847 and 1850 Lawry found some fruits for his fourteen months' labours which had, at that time, seemed to mark him as a failure.

Footnotes

(1) A daughter of Shelley was Mrs. Daniel Draper whose husband was an outstanding Wesleyan minister in the mid-19th Century. Daniel Draper and his wife were lost in the *London* in the Bay of Biscay when returning to Australia in 1866, an incident famous in Australian Wesleyan Church history.

(2) *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. I, p.50. 113

(3) Wesleyan Missionary Society, London, *Minutes*, 23 January 1822. N.L.C. microfilm.

(4) Supra, p. vii

(5) Lawry, W., *Journal*, 7 April 1821. Cat. 134. M.O.M.C.

(6) Lawry, W., *Journal*, 31 January 1823. Cat. 134. M.O.M.C.

(7) Lawry, ibid, 4 September 1822.

(8) Lawry, ibid, 21 September 1822. M.L.

(9) Lawry, ibid, 12 March 1823.

(10) Lawry, ibid, 21 October 1822.

(11) Lawry, ibid, 28 November 1822.

(12) Lawry, ibid, 6 February 1823.

(13) Thomas, John, *Journal*. Microfilm 46. F.M.1433-39. M.L.S.

(14) Turner, Nathaniel, *Personal Narrative*, p.189. A.1835-6. M.L.S.

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[1823-1826]

The visit of John Williams was the last contact of the London Missionary Society with Tonga, for which it had made many sacrifices. The Tongan group was henceforth a field for the Wesleyans. After the departure of Lawry in October 1823 without his having won a single convert there was an interval of nearly three years. The Wesleyans resumed their Mission in June 1826, as following chapters relate. At first they experienced more setbacks and then, as it were, almost overnight, they found astonishing success. Within seven years of the return of the Wesleyans the whole of Ha'apai and Vava'u, and a part of Tongatapu, had professed Christianity.

797

Footnotes

113

(1) Williams, John, *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, pp.5-6.
(2) L.M.S. Journals, microfilm Boxes 4 and 5, 1817-26, M.L.S.
(3) Davies, John, C. W. Newbury edition, *History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830*, p.317, footnote.
(4) *L.M.S. Records*, 1827-30, microfilm, Box 6, M.L.S.
(5) Williams, J. and Barff, C., *Journal of a Voyage undertaken chiefly for the purpose of introducing Christianity among the Feejees and Haamous* (= Samoa). A.403. M.L.S.
(6) *L.M.S. Records, 1823-26*, microfilm, Box 5, M.L.S.
(7) *L.M.S. Records*, 1827-30, microfilm, Box 6. M.L.S.
(8) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter-book*, 9 January 1827. M.L.S.
(9) Turner, N., *Personal Narrative*, p.187, A.1835-6. M.L.S.
(10) Turner, ibid, p.202.
(11) Turner, ibid, p.202.
(12) *L.M.S. Records*, 1827-30, Box 6, M.L.S.
(13) Gilson, R. P., *Samoa 1830-1900*, p.69.
(14) *L.M.S. Records*, 1827-30, microfilm, Box 6. M.L.S.
(15) *L.M.S. Records*, 1827-30, microfilm, Box 6. M.L.S.
(16) *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, p.270 (1839 edition).
(17) Williams and Barff, *Journal*, ibid. A.403. M.L.S.
(18) Thomas, John, *Journal*, 7 July 1830. Microfilm 43. FM.1433-39. M.L.S.

Footnotes:

(1) *District Meeting Minutes*, Sydney. Dixson Library, Syd., Ms.Q3.; *District Dispatch Book*, Vol. 1. 1826-36. A.1716-1. M.L.S.
(2) Thomas, *Diary and Letter Book*, A.1959. M.L.C.
(3) Hutchinson, *Letters to Wesleyan Missionary Society, London*. A.2832. M.O.M.C.
(4) Thomas, John, *Journal*, 29 September 1826. A.1959. M.L.S.
(5) ibid, 26 September 1826.
(6) ibid, 29 September 1826.
(7) ibid, 21 September 1826.
(8) Thomas, John, *Journal*, 29 December 1826, microfilm 42. M.O.M.C.
(9) Thomas, to Committee. A.2832, M.O.M.C.
(10) Thomas, *Journal*, 22 June 1827, microfilm 46. M.O.M.C.
(11) Thomas, John, *Diary and Letter Book*. A.1959. M.L.S.
(12) Davidson, J. W., *Peter Dillon of Vanikoro*, pp.165-6.
(13) Dillon, Peter, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas to ascertain the fate of La Perouse*. Vol. I, p.283.
(14) Weiss to Committee. A.2833. M.O.M.C.
(15) Turner, Nathaniel, *Personal Narrative*, 17 January 1827. A.1835. M.L.S.; also Turner, J. G., *The Pioneer Missionary*, p.77.
(16) *District Meeting Minutes*, B.668. M.L.S.
(17) Turner, N., *Personal Narrative*, p.193. A.1835-6. M.L.S.
(18) Turner, N., *Letters to Wesleyan Missionary Society*. A.2833. M.O.M.C.
(19) ibid.
(20) Turner, N., ibid, p.225.
(21) Turner to Committee. A.2832. M.O.M.C.
(22) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter Book*. A.1959. M.L.S.
(23) *Tonga District Meeting Minutes*. B.668. M.L.S.; *Letters*, Wesleyan Missionary Society, 30 June 1828. A.2834. M.O.M.C.
(24) ibid, 7 February 1828. A.2835. M.O.M.C.
(25) Turner, N. ibid, p.260; *Letters*, ibid. A.2835. M.O.M.C.
(26) *District Meeting Minutes*. B.668. M.L.S.
(27) ibid.
(28) M.N., 1831 — 10 January 1830.
(29) *Letters*, Wesleyan Missionary Society. A.2835. M.O.M.C.
(30) *Letters*, *ibid*. A.2836. M.O.M.C.
(31) M.N., 23 March 1831.
(32) Thomas to Committee. A.2838. M.O.M.C.
(33) Turner to Committee, 3 May 1831. A.2837. M.O.M.C.

[ca. 1834]

West could have said even more, had he realized the trend. The facts showed 797
that, at every stage, the influence of the chiefs was, in the final analysis, 622
determinative of events. The chief's attitude decided the substitution of Christianity 565
for the old religion, and the form of Christianity that was accepted (Protestant or Roman Catholic); also, to some extent, the form of church government within the Church and even its relation to the parent body.

The early missionaries left the "chiefly Church" as a legacy of mixed value to their successors. As Richard Amos wrote to Rabone, Missionary Secretary, on 27 February 1857, the Wesleyan Mission in Tonga suffered from too much deference to a chief and too much dependence on a chief.

After the sensational successes of 1834 the missionaries felt the pressing need 797
to develop a Christian conscience and consistent conduct among their converts. It was their misfortune to be confronted with formidable opposition that sprang up among an influential section of non-Christian chiefs and their followers in
Tongatapu. The period, 1835-40, was unsettled, both politically and religiously, 669
by war.

Footnotes:

(1) Turner, J. G., *The Pioneer Missionary*, p.103. 113
(2) Gilford, *Tongan Society*, p.348; West, *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia*, p.364, for Peter Vi's *Narrative*.
(3) Cross, W., *Journal*, 1 July 1830.
(4) Williams, J., *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, pp.270-8, 1839 edition.
(5) Watkin, J., *Journal*, 1830-9, 28 March 1832. A.843. M.L.S.
(6) Rowe, G. S., *A Pioneer — Memoirs of Rev. J. Thomas*.
(7) Watkin, J., *Journal*, 1830-9, 4 August 1834. A.834. M.L.S.
(8) Williams, J., ibid, pp.277-8, 1839 edition; Williams and Barff, *Journal*, 8 July 1830. A.403. M.L.S.
(9) Peter Vi's *Narrative*, in West, *Ten Years in South Central Polynesia*, pp.367-8.
(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*, ibid, 5 August 1830; *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. III, p.6.
(11) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter-book*. A.1959. M.L.S.
(12) Thomas, J., ibid, 7 August 1831; M.M.S. records, 7 August 1831. Microfilm 43. M.L.S.
(13) Watkin, J., *Journal*. A.834-5. M.L.S.
(14) In 1832 Taufa'ahau had discarded one of his polygamous wives, a Samoan, and sent her [643]
back to her country. Evidently she had been baptized and named Salata (Salote). There [595]
is nothing to indicate any contact between her and Taufa'ahau after her return to Samoa.
His subsequent promotion of Wesleyanism in Samoa was due to his denominational [797]
interests and not because of this rejected Samoan wife. (See, contra, Garrett, John, *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 9, p.65 and footnote. Also, L.M.S. *Journals*, 6 November 1832, Box 7, M.L.S.)
(15) Thomas, J., ibid. A.1959. 12 July 1831.
(16) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 1, p.67. B.301. M.L.S
(17) Watkin, J., *Journal*. A.834-5. M.L.S.; Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 1. B.301. M.L.S.
(18) Watkin, J., *M.N.* — 21 March 1833.
(19) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter Book*. A.1959. M.L.S.
(20) Thomas, J., ibid.
(21) Watkin, J. to Turner, N., 30 October 1835.
(22) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 20 February 1838. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(23) M.M.S. *Records*, microfilm 43, M.L.S.; Turner, Peter, *Journal*, Vol. 10. B.309/1847. M.L.S.
(24) *Missionary Records*, microfilm Set 42. FM.1433-3; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, pp.171-2.
(25) Turner, P., *Missionary Papers*, 49-50. A.1506. M.L.S.
(26) Thomas, J., *Diary and Letter Book*, 12 July 1831. A.1959. M.L.S.
(27) Peter Vi's *Narrative*, in Collocott, *Papers*, 207-2. M.L.S.
(28) Turner, P., *Journal*, 21 August 1831. B.301. M.L.S.
(29) Thomas to Committee, 15 March 1834. A.2838. M O.M.C.
(30) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 1. B.301. M.L.S.

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(31) Watkin, J., *Journal*, 8 October 1835. M.L.S.
(32) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.302. M.L.S.
(33) Turner, P., ibid; also Tonga District Meeting, *Minutes 1841*. B.668. M.L.S.
(34) *Refutation of Chevalier Dillon's Slanderous Attacks on the Wesleyan Missionaries in the Friendly Islands*, p.21.
(35) Cargill, D., *Memoirs of Margaret Cargill*, p.38.
(36) Turner, P., ibid, 12 May 1833.
(37) Tonga District Meeting, *Minutes*. B.668. M.L.S.
(38) Turner, P., ibid.
(39) Turner, P., ibid.
(40) Turner, P., ibid, Vol. 2. B.302. M.L.S.
(41) Cargill, D., *Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Cargill*, pp.64 &c.
(42) Cargill, ibid.
(43) Tucker, C., *M.N.*, 1835.
(44) Thomas, J., *M.N.*, 6 December 1834.
(45) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 8. B.307. M.L.S.
(46) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.302. M.L.S.
(47) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*. pp.259-60.

[1841]

the opportunity for improving his people's social conditions. The missionaries also were anxious to consolidate the evangelistic gains of the pre-war years and to repair the moral damage of the war.(97) 669 797 643

Footnotes:

113

(1) Thomson, *Diversions of a Prime Minister.* p.350.
(2) Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga.* p.108.
(3) Dillon to Thomas, 28 November 1837. Dixson Library, Sydney. 84/10.
(4) Wilkes, *Narrative of U.S. Exploring Expedition.* Vol. III, p.10.
(5) Erskine, *Journal of Cruise . . . Havannah.* p.12.
(6) I am greatly indebted to the Rev. Geoff Cummins, formerly of Tonga, and now post-graduate student at the A.N.U. for much information from the draft of his M.A. thesis, "School and Society in Tonga, 1826-1854", where the question of missionary implication in the wars is fully discussed. Also *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. X, Part 1, pp.105-112; H. G. Cummins, Review of Latukefu, S., *Church and State in Tonga.*
(7) Watkin, *Papers.* A.1540. M.L.S.
(8) Microfilm, W.M.M.S., R.M. 145, Journal 35, N.L.C.
(9) Hobbs, *Journal.* A.N.U.
(10) Hobbs, ibid.
(11) Watkin, *Journal*, 22 September 1835. A.834-5. M.L.S.
(12) Rabone, *Journal.* Set 47. M.L.S.
(13) Tucker, *Journal*, 3 February 1837. R.M.145. N.L.C.
(14) Tucker, ibid.
(15) Brooks to Committee, 16 January 1837. R.M. 145. N.L.C.
(16) Rabone, ibid, 18 January 1837.
(17) Watkin, ibid, 11 January 1837.
(18) Hobbs, ibid.
(19) Hobbs, ibid.
(20) Hobbs, ibid.
(21) Hobbs, ibid.
(22) Hobbs, ibid.
(23) Watkin, ibid, 25 January 1837.
(24) Rabone, ibid, 14 February 1837.
(25) Rabone, ibid, 27 September 1837.
(26) Tucker, *Journal*, 28 January 1837.
(27) Tucker, *Journal*, 22 March 1837.
(28) Watkin to Committee, 24 March 1837. R.M. 144. N.L.C.
(29) Thomas, microfilm. R.M. 145. N.L.C.
(30) Thomas, *Letters.* A.1960. M.L.S.
(31) Thomas, microfilm. R.M. 145. N.L.C.
(32) Thomas, ibid.
(33) Rabone, ibid.
(34) Rabone, ibid.
(35) Rabone, ibid.
(36) Pacific Manuscripts Bureau. Reel 3. N.L.C.
(37) ibid; Blanc, Bishop J. F., *History of Tonga*, p.38.
(38) Thomas, *Letters.* A.1960. M.L.S.
(39) Thomas, microfilm. R.M. 145, Journal No. 35. N.L.C.
(40) Thomas, ibid.
(41) Tucker, microfilm. R.M. 145.
(42) Thomas, ibid.
(43) Rabone, ibid, 12 April and 4 May 1837.
(44) Thomas, W.M.M.S. microfilm 43. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(45) Thomas, 13 June 1837. R.M. 145.
(46) Thomas, ibid, 23 June 1837.
(47) Rabone, ibid.
(48) Rabone, ibid.
(49) Rabone, ibid.
(50) Rabone, ibid.
(51) *Memoranda*, W.M.M.S., South Seas. (Joseph Orton). Personal 6. N.L.C.
(52) *Memoranda*, ibid.
(53) Dillon to Thomas, 20 November 1837. Dixson Library, Sydney. 84/10.
(54) Orton, J., *Journal.* A.1714. M.L.S.
(55) Thomas, microfilm 46. F.M. 433-9. M.L.S.

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(56) Thomas, ibid.
(57) *Memoranda*, ibid.
(58) Beecham to Thomas, microfilm 150. W.M.M.S. N.L.C.
(59) W.M.M.S. M.119. N.L.C.; B.668. M.L.S.
(60) District Meeting Minutes. B.668. M.L.S.
(61) Rabone, *Journal*, ibid.
(62) Rabone, ibid.
(63) Rabone, ibid.
(64) Rabone, ibid; Turner, Peter, *Journal*, Vol. 6. B.307. M.L.S.
(65) Rabone, ibid, 8 February 1840; Farmer, *Tonga and Friendly Islands*, p.317.
(66) Rabone, ibid.
(67) Rabone, ibid.
(68) Rabone, ibid.
(69) Tucker, Charles, *Missionary Notices*, 1841.
(70) Wilkes, C., *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, Vol. III, p.15.
(71) Wilkes, ibid, p.10.
(72) Wilkes, ibid, p.38.
(73) Thomson, B., *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.353.
(74) Wilkes, ibid, Vol. III, p.30.
(75) Wilkes, ibid, Vol. III, p.9.
(76) Wilkes, ibid, Vol. III, p.10.
(77) Rabone, ibid, 1 and 17 May 1840.
(78) Turner, G. A., *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, pp.486-7.
(79) Tonga District Meeting Minutes. M.119, microfilm. N.L.C.
(80) W.M.M.S., microfilm 43. F.M. 1433-9. M.L.S.
(81) ibid.
(82) Tonga District Meeting Minutes, ibid; West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.284-6.
(83) Rabone, ibid.
(84) Thomas, J., W.M.M.S. microfilm 48. F.M. 1433-9. M.L.S.
(85) Gipps, Sir G. to Admiralty, *N.S.W. Governor's Dispatches*, Vol. 34, 1840, No. 92. A.1223. M.L.S.
(86) *Missionary Notices*, 1841; West, ibid, pp.287-8.
(87) Gipps, ibid, No. 117.
(88) Rabone, ibid.
(89) Thomas, ibid, microfilm 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(90) Thomas to Committee, 12 February 1841; Mrs. Thomas, 7 April 1841. A.1960. M.L.S.
(91) W.M.M.S. microfilm 46, 48, ibid. M.L.S.
(92) ibid, microfilm 48.
(93) ibid, microfilm 48.
(94) Waterhouse, J., *Journal*, Vol. 2. A.2871. M.L.S.
(95) Dillon to O'Farrell. Dixson Library, Sydney. 84/10.
(96) Tonga District Meeting Minutes, 1841. microfilm M.119. N.L.C.
(97) Tonga District Meeting Minutes, 1841; B.668, M.L.S.

[1843 - 1906]

Cargill, who had just returned from Fiji to Britain, was sent in 1843 in response 797
to that request; as a linguist he was of the same high order as J. E. Moulton 779
who came over twenty years later.

Some small portions of the Scriptures had been in print since 1833 and these had been revised and reprinted several times. The missionaries had been allotted various books of the Bible for translation. Although Thomas's journals and those of his colleagues refer frequently to this work it made only slow progress. It took twenty years to produce a complete Tongan New Testament. In 1849, at last, 4,000 copies of the New Testament were printed on the press in Vava'u.

Rabone was reluctant to criticize his brother-in-law, John Thomas, but the tardiness in translating irritated him. His journal stated that, on 20 June 1846, he received a complete copy of the Samoan New Testament after the L.M.S. missionaries had been in Samoa only ten years. He wrote,

> "O, the years we have wasted . . . while others have got the Word of God into the hands of the people. . . . Shame on us for verily we are guilty." (25)

On 12 December 1846 he heard of what the Wesleyans in Fiji had done in ten years, and commented,

> "They are making progress in the work of translation. I am ashamed for this district; we are not of one heart and mind, therefore we do not go as well with our work. They are of one mind in Fiji and therefore their work tells well." (26)

The dilatoriness of the Chairman is implied in Rabone's words on 25 June 1847:

> "We have not held a District Meeting since March 1845; also our printing is at a standstill and needs a new impulse. We are expecting a visit from Mr. Lawry." (27)

It was this District Meeting in 1847 over which Lawry presided that gave the new impulse for which Rabone and others were looking. With regard to translating, Lawry recorded —

> "This work has very urgent claims upon us, and those claims have existed for several years; but there is no sufficient reason why they have not been met long ago. I here record the opinion of most of the Tonga missionaries." (28)

It was decided that Rabone should revise the New Testament and continue with
Old Testament translation. Rabone also laid later generations under obligation [113]
to him by his painstaking work in producing a Tongan-English Vocabulary and
Grammar, printed on the mission press in Vava'u in 1846. Rabone accomplished a great deal of his translation before he had to leave Tonga in 1850 when West, Davis and Adams continued the Old Testament translation. The final production was largely the work of West.

Editions of the New Testament were published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1850 and 1854. Robert Young, the deputation from the British Wesleyan Conference, brought 10,000 copies on his visit in 1853. Thomas West had the satisfaction of seeing the whole Bible published by the Bible Society in 1862, after he had returned from Tonga. His was the translation used until Moulton's new version in 1880 (New Testament) and 1906 (Old Testament). West's is substantially the version which the present dissenting churches, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga, are using, instead of Moulton's.

The Wesleyans in both Tonga and Fiji used liturgical forms of worship. It is 797
true that they encouraged extemporaneous prayer but they knew the value of 796
ordered worship. With the Tongans' love of music there was no difficulty in [533]
accustoming the congregation to take part in a sung liturgy. Reference has been [779]

Footnotes:

(1) Thomas, J., *Journal*. microfilm 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.

(2) Wilson, M., *Journal*. 9 November 1843.

(3) Wilson, ibid.

(4) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 29 April 1846. Set. 47. M.O.M.C.

(5) Adams, T., *Letters*, 15 January 1851. A.N.U.

(6) Erskine, E., *Journal of Cruise . . . Havannah*. 1849, p.131.

(7) Henderson, G. C., *Fiji and the Fijians, 1835-56*, p.195.

(8) Rabone, S., *Journal*. 16 February 1843. Set 47. M.O.M.C.

(9) Henderson, ibid. p.196.

(10) Rabone, ibid, p.283.

(11) Thomas, J., *Journal*. microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.

(12) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. 1844. B.668. M.L.S.

(13) Cargill, *Journal*. W.P.H.C.

(14) Cargill, ibid, 12 March 1843.

(15) Turner, N. to Committee. A.2835. M.O.M.C.

(16) *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. 1848, p.1038.

(17) Lawry, W., *Friendly and Feejee Islands. Missionary Visit, 1847*, p.25.

(18) Lawry, ibid, p.33.

(19) Thomas, J., *Letters*. A.1960. M.L.S.

(20) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. 1841. B.668. M.L.S.

(21) Lawry, W., *Second Visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands, 1850*, pp.73-4.

(22) Ha'apai Circuit Report, 1850. F.W.C.

(23) Lawry, ibid, p.105.

(24) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. 1841. B.668. M.L.S.

(25) Rabone, *Journal*. Set 47. M.O.M.C.

(26) Rabone, ibid.

(27) Rabone, ibid.

(28) Lawry, *Visit, 1847*, p.32.

(29) *Minutes*, ibid; Thomas, *Journal*. microfilm 48. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.

(30) Lawry, 2nd Visit, 1850. 5 May 1850. p.5.

(31) *M.N.*, 1856, p.175.

(32) Gordon, Sir Arthur, *Public and Private Life*, Vol. III, p.108.

(33) Rabone, S., *Journal*. 1 January 1837. Set. 47. M.O.M.C.

(34) Correspondence attached to Matthew Wilson's *Journal*.

(35) Turner, J. G., *The Pioneer Missionary*. pp.125-6.

(36) Thomas, J., *Journal*. 24 May 1829.

(37) Adams, T., *Letters*. A.N.U.

(38) Tonga Circuit Report, 1853-4. F.W.C.

(39) Stephinson to Eggleston. 19 March 1861. Item 170. Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.

(40) Davis to Eggleston. 18 March 1862. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.

(41) Rabone, ibid.

(42) Rabone, ibid.

(43) *M.N.*, 1853, p.180.

(44) Young, R., *Journal of a Deputation to the Southern World*, p.249; Gunson, W. N., *Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860*, pp.176, 178.

(45) Lawry, *2nd Visit, Friendly Islands and Fiji, 1850*, p.18.

(46) *M.N.*, 1841 — statement by John Waterhouse.

(47) Rabone, S., *Journal*. 22 October 1836. Set 47. M.O.M.C.

(48) Thomas to Committee. 26 November 1831. A.2837. M.O.M.C.

[1853]

Young reported the typical Sunday appointments — 5.30 a.m., prayer-meeting 797
with the king and queen present; 8 a.m., Sunday School; 9 a.m., public worship 796
with about 700 crowded into Zion Chapel and many others outside; 2 p.m.,
Sunday School again with the Queen one of the teachers; 3 p.m., another service. 794
Young met one of the leading chiefs from Pea, formerly a rebel and now a
worshipper, and also a son of the Tu'i Tonga, Laufilitonga, a Wesleyan local
preacher. Not only Sabbath observance but the universal practice of family
prayers was noted by the visitor. He did not, however, approve the adoption of
European clothing.

Clearly the organization of the whole Mission in Tonga favourably impressed 797
Robert Young. Tonga then had 109 chapels, 527 local preachers, 7,000 church [368]
members, 185 schools with 7,279 pupils (adults and children). An eight hours'
examination of the schools in Nuku'alofa showed Young the work of Richard [793]
Amos. The pupils had followed custom in oiling their bodies for the occasion. [794]
Long Scripture passages had been memorized, and so had names of the rivers [877]
in Europe, the countries in the American continent, and the distances from 797
London of the principal towns in England! A class of 150 men, "full of vigour, 872
worked sums in Arithmetic with as much energy as if a war-whoop had been [302]
sounded, and the effect was startling when they chanted the multiplication table"!
Young mentioned that Thomas Adams, whose brother was a noted English
astronomer, had predicted the time of an eclipse of the moon with a precision
that amazed the Tongans.

The decade which followed the end of the war in 1852 represented a high 797
water mark in the history of the Wesleyan Mission. Not only was outward success
manifest but harmony prevailed, both harmony in the ranks of the missionaries
and, generally, between them and the king. It was to be rudely broken in a few
years.

Footnotes:

113

(1) Thomas, J., *Journal*, microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(2) Lyth, R. B., *Journal*, Vol. 2. B.534. M.L.S.; and Lyth, *Day Book*. B.535. M.L.S.; also Wallis, Mrs. M. C, *Life in Fiji for five years among the cannibals*, p.394; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.100.
(3) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.211-2.
(4) West, ibid, p.212.
(5) Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 10, 20 November 1848. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, IX, p.71.
(6) West, ibid, pp.212-3.
(7) Lawry, W., *2nd Visit, Friendly Islands and Fiji, 1850*, pp.81-2.
(8) Thomas, J., *Letters*, 10 February 1844. A.1960. M.L.S.
(9) *M.N.*, 1846, p.44; Farmer, S., *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, p.364.
(10) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.168; Leconte, *Memoires Pittoresques d'un Officer de Marine*, II, pp.426-7, 585.
(11) Brookes, ibid, p.168.
(12) Lawry, W., *Friendly and Feejee Islands, Missionary Visit, 1847*, p.62.
(13) Lawry, ibid, p.62.
(14) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.422.
(15) Ross, Angus, *New Zealand Aspirations in the pacific in the 19th Century*, p.44.
(16) Cummins, ibid, p.424.
(17) Cummins, ibid, p.427.
(18) Thomas, J., *Journal*, 21 February 1850. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-49. M.L.S.
(19) Turner, P., *Journal*, 11 June 1850, Vol. 10. B.309. M.L.S.; *M.N.*, 1851, p.511.
(20) Lawry, W., *Second Missionary Visit to Friendly and Feejee Islands, 1850*, p.63.
(21) Lawry, ibid, pp.71-2.
(22) Brookes, J. I., *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-75*, p.74.
(23) Pompallier, J. B., *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, pp.14-16; *M.N.*, 1838.

(24) Davidson, J., *Peter Dillon of Vanikoro*, pp.299-300; Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga*, p.143.
(25) Pompallier, ibid, p.78.
(26) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 1 January 1842. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(27) Rabone, ibid, 1 January 1842; Turner, P., *Journal*, Vol. 8, 28 December 1841. B.307, M.L.S.; Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*, p.363.
(28) Turner, ibid.
(29) *M.N.*, April 1838, p.48.
(30) *M.N.*, October 1848, p.170.
(31) Brookes, ibid, p.119; F. O., *France*, 27/663, 26 May 1843.
(32) Erskine, E., *Journal of a Cruise . . . Havannah, 1849*, p.134.
(33) Pompallier, ibid, p.80.
(34) Thomas, J., *Journal*, 1 May 1856. Microfilm 45. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(35) Erskine, ibid, p.134.
(36) West, T., *Ten Years in South-Central Polynesia*, pp.291-2; Morrell, W. P., *Britain in the Pacific Islands*, p.311.
(37) West, ibid, p.291; Morrell, ibid, p.311; Lawry, *2nd Visit, 1850*, pp.86, 88; Adams, T., *Letters*, 6 June 1851, A.N.U.; *M.N.*, 1851, p.725.
(38) *M.N.*, 1853, p.85.
(39) West, ibid, p.306.
(40) West, ibid, p.313.
(41) *M.N.*, 1853, p.291.
(42) Amos, R., *M.N.*, 1853, p.293; Morrell, ibid, p.313; Farmer, ibid, p.405.
(43) *M.N.*, 1853, p.85.
(44) West, T., ibid, p.323.
(45) West, T., ibid, pp.331-2.
(46) *M.N.*, 1853, p.487.
(47) West, ibid, pp.338-9.
(48) Thomas, J., *Letters*, 4 October 1856. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(49) Brookes, ibid, p.245. C/O, N.S.W., 201/510, 14 March 1859.
(50) Cummins, ibid, p.425.
(51) Brookes, ibid, p.242.
(52) West, ibid, pp.429 &c.
(53) Thomas to Eggleston. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.
(54) Adams to Eggleston. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(55) Thomas to Eggleston, ibid.
(56) Eggleston to Vercoe. Item 30. M.O.M.C.
(57) Eggleston to Thomas, ibid.
(58) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*, August 1858. A.N.U.; *M.N.*, 1859, p.17; Morrell, ibid, p.315.
(59) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(60) Morrell, ibid, p.315.
(61) Cummins, ibid, pp.436-40.
(62) Tongatapu Circuit Report, 1860. F.W.C.
(63) Lee, Geo. to Eggleston. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(64) Tongatapu Circuit Report, 1855. F.W.C.

[1877-1880]

by the District Meeting to Sydney for one year's experience, especially in English. 797
Moulton, writing to Chapman, on 3 May 1877, on the eve of his departure, said: 873

> "If left to itself the College would stand and prosper under the headmastership of David. 874
> Alas, that *IF*!" (35) (36)

There seems truth in Baker's charge that Moulton was forming a College party within the Church.(37) Moulton was in fact creating an intellectual elite. [571] This was dangerous in a country where families quarrelled so readily; there now [187] arose an elitist quarrel which could, and did, lead finally to a religious division [184] which split Tonga asunder. This was in addition to the ambition, jealousy and factiousness within the Mission staff. The evidence points to an element of defiance on Moulton's part which a man less bellicose than Baker would not readily overlook.

Footnotes

(1) W.P.H.C. Inward Correspondence, general, No. 287 of 1891; Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, p.4. 113
(2) *M.N.*, 1854, p.754.
(3) Pritchard, W. T., *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p.233; Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p.143.
(4) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1863. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(5) Pritchard, ibid, p.289; Derrick, ibid, p.151.
(6) Davis to Eggleston, 10 June 1862. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(7) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Item 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(8) Thomas, ibid. Item 46.
(9) I am indebted to the Rev. E. W. Hames, Auckland, for the correspondence between Lawry and the Secretaries in London; see also Hames, E. W., *Walter Lawry and the Wesleyan Mission in the South Seas*, pp.35-6.
(10) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 46. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(11) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1849. B.668. M.L.S.
(12) Rabone, S., *Journal*, 22 July 1847. Set 47. M.O.M.C.
(13) Thomas, J., *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(14) Thomas, ibid.
(15) Thomas, ibid, 19 November 1849.
(16) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(17) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(18) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 46.
(19) Thomas, ibid. Microfilm 45.
(20) Thomas, ibid, May 1877. M.L.S.
(21) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(22) "Free Church" was the popular name for the Church set up in 1885 with the official title, "The Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". In this history the short name, "Free Church", is used in references to it before 1924. The full legal name is used after re-union in 1924. [795]
(23) Thomson, Basil, *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.222.
(24) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, pp.135-47, for advice given by Charles St. Julian.
(25) Davis to Chapman. Item 170, Pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(26) Eggleston, J., *Journal*, September 1862.
(27) Firth, F. to Eggleston, 21 Feoruary and 24 March 1862. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(28) Thomas, *Journal*. Microfilm 44. F.M. 1433-39. M.L.S.
(29) Stephinson, W. G. R., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Davis to Eggleston, 27 April 1863. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(31) Eggleston to Davis. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(32) Eggleston to Davis. Item 33. M.O.M.C.
(33) Eggleston to Davis, 7 July 1863.
(34) Adams to Rabone, 16 June 1863. Uncat. set 197. Item 2. M.O.M.C.
(35) Whewell to Eggleston. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(36) Eggleston to Davis, 20 September 1862. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(37) *Reports*. F.W.C.
(38) Amos to Eggleston, 27 February 1857. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.; *M.N.*, 1857.
(39) Adams to Eggleston, 8 February 1859. Item 170, Pt. 2. M.O.M.C.
(40) Baker to Eggleston. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

(41) Moulton. J. E., *Moulton of Tonga.* p.11.
(42) Watkin to Rabone. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(43) Greenwood to Rabone. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(44) Missionary Committee Minutes. Sydney. M.O.M.C.
(45) Greenwood to Rabone. 10 August 1872: 25 April 1873. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(46) Gordon. Sir Arthur. *Public and Private Life*, Vol. III, p.105.
(47) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. 1873. F.W.C.
(48) Oldmeadow. H. C.. *Journal*. May 1878.
(49) *M.N.*, July/October 1869. p.148: *M.N.*. 1870, 1872.
(50) Moulton to Chapman. 21 May 1872, 13 July 1872, 2 June 1873. Cat. 99. M.O.M.C.
(51) Baker to Chapman. 5 July 1872. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(52) Baker to Chapman. 16 July 1874. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(53) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(54) Rabone. W. T. to Rabone. S. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(55) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(56) Strange to say. Baker told Chapman that, during Moulton's absence in England, he himself was teaching theology. physiology and chemistry at the College, and two of his children were teaching singing and English. (11 July 1878. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.) [797] [873]
(57) Baker to Chapman. Set 197. Item 2, 12 February 1877, alleging that Moulton had "made parties. College versus Church". [874]

[1877-1880]

front page and on the cover the emblem and motto of Tupou College, the crab 797 emerging from a shell, an indication of education serving new conditions, with the words "The mountain of Tonga is the mind" (with a pun on the words for 779 mountain and crab). This detail called forth more criticism eventually. It would have been better for Moulton to have dispensed with the emblem on the Bible.

Moulton's absence during the critical years in which Baker was removed 797 from the Mission and became Premier absolved him from any complicity in the charges against Baker in 1878 and the disputes that followed. He may well have been tempted to remain abroad, especially if he could have foreseen the changed situation in Church and State in Tonga. During his three years' absence Baker 643 insinuated suspicions into the king's mind, especially suggesting that Moulton was 797 favouring annexation while he (Baker) was defending Tonga against it. When Moulton left in 1877 the king had given him tangible tokens of friendship and gratitude and he had impressed on Moulton his desire for his return. In 1880 Moulton found the king estranged from him.

Marvellous to relate, in site of the bickering among the missionaries in a 797 community where nothing could be hidden, the work of the Church was being carried on, in preaching, teaching, and pastoral care. The Tongan ministers must have been steadily losing respect for missionaries who were guilty of feuding and personal animosity. It seems almost incredible that normal and genuine religious ministries could have been maintained in a Mission that had truly become "a house divided against itself".

Footnotes:

(1) Chapman to Moulton. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C. 113
(2) Greenwood, H., *Journal*. A.1756. M.L.S.
(3) Rutherford, N., *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, p.32.
(4) Greenwood, ibid, 9 August 1870.
(5) Mission Board Minutes, Sydney, 26 January 1871. M.O.M.C.
(6) Rutherford, ibid, p.91.
(7) Australian Conference Minutes 1873, p.72.
(8) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(9) Baker to Chapman. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(10) *Tongan Papers*, N.L.C.
(11) Baker to Chapman. Set 101 and Set 197, item 2. M.O.M.C.
(12) Rutherford, ibid, pp.38-9.
(13) *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, Sydney, 6 February 1873.
(14) ibid.
(15) Minns to Chapman. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(16) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(17) *Report of Sir Charles Mitchell*, 1887, p.3.
(18) *Christian Advocate* &c., ibid, 2 March 1874.
(19) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 30 November 1874. F.W.C.
(20) ibid.
(21) Greenwood to Chapman. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(22) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(23) Baker to Chapman, 4 September 1873. Item 101. M.O.M.C.
(24) Moulton to Chapman, 31 August 1873. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(25) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(26) ibid; *Christian Advocate* &c., ibid, 3 February 1875.
(27) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2. M.O.M.C.
(28) ibid, Item 101. M.O.M.C.
(29) ibid, Item 101. M.O.M.C.
(30) *The Tonga Chronicle*, 12 June 1970.
(31) ibid.

(32) *Po'opo'oi*, Vol. 2, No. 6, September 1875, from Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.170. 113

(33) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 30 December 1873, 11 December 1876.

(34) Cummins, ibid, pp.212, 286.

(35) Rutherford, *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, pp.55-6; Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga*, pp.214-16.

(36) Watkin to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.

(37) Baker to Chapman. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

(38) Watkin to Chapman, ibid.

(39) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.

(40) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.

(41) Rutherford, ibid, p.74.

(42) Watkin to Chapman. Item 170. M.O.M.C.

(43) Watkin to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.

(44) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2. M.O.M.C.

(45) Watkin to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.

(46) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2. M.O.M.C.

(47) ibid.

(48) Missionary Committee Minutes. 8 January 1877. M.O.M.C.

(49) Watkin to Chapman. Item 170. pt. 2. M.O.M.C.

(50) Rutherford, ibid, p.75.

(51) Baker (to President of Conference. 7 January 1880. Catalogue 169. M.O.M.C.) said that the 1878 Conference merely urged him and others to abstain from unnecessary interference in politics, and asked them only to give advice to the Government when asked to do so. It is, however, difficult to believe that nothing more than this was decided. [797]

(52) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2. M.O.M.C.

(53) Baker to Chapman. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.

(54) Gordon-Cumming, Miss, *A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-of-War*, p.20.

(55) Fison to Chapman, 26 October 1876. M.L.S.

(56) Maudslay, F. O., 23 January 1879; Scarr, *Fragments of Empire*, p.93.

(57) Gordon, *Public and Private Life*. Vol. III, p.113.

(58) Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.115. 29 April 1878.

(59) Gordon-Cumming, ibid, pp.32-3.

(60) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.

(61) Baker to Chapman, 7 January 1876. Catalogue 197, set 2. M.O.M.C.

(62) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.

[1880]

Baker's defiance of his Church was deliberate. He was determined to disobey the order for his return, and he relied upon many of the Tongans, and especially the king, to support him. He believed that, with this support, he would be able to defeat and humiliate the Wesleyan Church, and this he proceeded to do.

797

Footnotes:

113

(1) Gordon, Sir Arthur. *Public and Private Life in Fiji*, Vol. II, p.407; Gordon to Colonial Office, 31 July 1880: Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, pp.82, 84; Ross, A., *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific*, pp.137, 204.
(2) Trood, T., *Island Reminiscences*, p.71.
(3) Rutherford, N., *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, p.64.
(4) Yet Baker told Chapman, "I was compelled to act as interpreter", 6 November 1876. Catalogue 197, set 2. M.O.M.C.
(5) Thomson, B., *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, p.368.
(6) *Resume of Inquiry* . . . published by S. W. Baker, p.44.
(7) Minns to Chapman, 9 January 1879. Item 179, pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(8) Gordon to Carnarvon, 17 July 1877: Morrell, W. P., *Britain in the Pacific Islands*, p.320.
(9) Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.101.
(10) Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.100.
(11) Maudslay to Earl of Salisbury, *F.O.*, 28 April 1870; *F.O. Memo.*, 9 May 1879, No. 52, Tongan Correspondence. (Sir Arthur Gordon's copy, in author's possession.)
(12) *F.O.*, No. 21, Tongan Correspondence, 4 February 1878; Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.330; Gordon to Salisbury, 3 June 1879, No. 66, Tongan Correspondence.
(13) *F.O.*, No. 68, Tongan Correspondence.
(14) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.395.
(15) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.395.
(16) *Minutes*, Missionary Committee, Sydney, 3 January 1881. M.O.M.C.
(17) Thomson, B., *Memorandum on Tongan Affairs*, No. 276, par. 3, July 1891. W.P.H.C.
(18) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 1875. F.W.C.
(19) Baker to Chapman, 19 September 1876. Item 197, set 2. M.O.M.C.
(20) Baker to Chapman, 3 August 1877, ibid.
(21) Conference Minutes, 1855, p.28
(22) ibid, p.97.
(23) ibid, 1866, p.78.
(24) Vercoe to Chapman, 22 July 1858. Item 170, pt. 2. M.O.M.C.
(25) *South Sea Bubbles*, p.251; Rutherford, ibid, p.31.
(26) Thomson, B., *Diversions of a Prime Minister*, pp.185-91.
(27) Conference Minutes, 1873, No. 25, p.135.
(28) Minns to Chapman. Item 170, pt. 1. M.O.M.C.
(29) Baker to Chapman, 14 September 1876. Set 197, item 2. M.O.M.C.
(30) Layard to Earl of Derby, 8 March 1876.
(31) Amos to Eggleston, 27 November 1857. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(32) Gordon to Earl of Carnarvon, 16 October 1876.
(33) Rutherford, ibid, p.73.
(34) Baker to Chapman, 14 September 1876. Catalogue 197, Set 2. M.O.M.C.
(35) Langham to Gordon, 26 June 1876. Catalogue 103. M.O.M.C.
(36) Langham to Chapman, 28 June 1878. Catalogue 103. M.O.M.C.
(37) Langham to Chapman, 9 November 1878. Catalogue 322. M.O.M.C.
(38) Wilkinson to Langham, 1 August 1878. Catalogue 103. M.O.M.C.
(39) Langham to Wilkinson, 9 November 1878. Catalogue 103. M.O.M.C.
(40) Gordon to Chapman, *Public and Private Life*, Vol. III, p.287, 22 April 1879.
(41) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(42) *Tongan Papers*, N.L.C.
(43) Baker to Chapman, 13 July 1878. Catalogue 197, Set 2. M.O.M.C.
(44) ibid, 30 October 1878. Catalogue 197, Set 2. M.O.M.C.
(45) Minns to Chapman, 1 September 1878. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(46) *Tongan Papers*, N.L.C.
(47) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(48) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*; Chapman to Gordon, 11 April 1879; Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.324.
(49) Watkin to Chapman, 26 December 1878. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(50) ibid, 10 January 1878. M.O.M.C.
(51) ibid, 8 November 1878, Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(52) ibid, 26 December 1878, ibid.

(53) ibid.
(54) Minns to Chapman. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(55) Minns to Chapman, ibid.
(56) Baker to Chapman, 25 January 1879. Catalogue 197, item 2. M.O.M.C.
(57) Gordon, ibid, Vol. III, p.316.
(58) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.29.
(59) Rutherford, ibid, p.88.
(60) Chapman to Osborne. Set 33. M.O.M.C.
(61) Chapman to Baker, Set 169. M.O.M.C.
(62) Maudslay, A. P., *Life in the Pacific Fifty Years Ago*, p.257.
(63) *Resume of Inquiry in re Tongan Mission Affairs, October 1879, Maudslay and S. W. Baker*, p.75.
(64) Baker to Chapman and Clarke, 7 October 1879, *Letters and Correspondence on Tongan Affairs*, p.5; Set 169. M.O.M.C.
(65) Chapman to Osborne, 13 September 1879. Catalogue 33. M.O.M.C.
(66) Minns to Chapman, 19 November 1879. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(67) Baker to Kelynack. Set 169. M.O.M.C.

[1874-1887]

> "The king, chiefs and people in 1874 felt, though probably in a less degree than in 1881, that they were fit for a greater degree of self-government than was accorded to them, and that the alienation from Tonga of so large a sum of money, without contributors having a voice in the matter, was unfair. Had the appeal of 1874 been dealt with in the spirit that the General Conference of 1881 brought to bear on a later petition, I have little doubt that all the recent troubles would have been avoided." 797 795 648

He went on to express his hope that a settlement would be speedily reached for reunion. He said:

> "If something be not done in that direction I see danger of Tonga drifting into the arms of some other denomination. I have already heard rumours of overtures being made to them. Mr. Moulton, I know, holds that the breach will close of itself if time is given it to do so but I am of a different opinion . . ." (72)

In the king's reply to Mitchell, on 26 April, he promised an amnesty, a proclamation restoring freedom of worship, the amendment of the Laws of Six and Thirty making residence of one year sufficient qualification; and he welcomed negotiations for reunion on the plan proposed by the New Zealand Conference (1887, p. 69, Minutes) if the High Commissioner would initiate these negotiations. He concluded: 643 798

> "I am prepared to promise that there shall be no more persecutions of Wesleyans because of their religion, and should any chief do so he shall be judged." (73)

The next three years would show whether these promises were honoured and whether there was a real hope of reunion or even freedom of worship.

Footnotes: 113

(1) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(2) Gordon, Sir Arthur, *Public and Private Life*, Vol. IV, p.158.
(3) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.205.
(4) Gordon to Chapman, Mission Board Minutes, 3 January 1881.
(5) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.314.
(6) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, p.281.
(7) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, pp.381-4.
(8) Gordon, ibid, Vol. IV, p.370.
(9) Circuit Reports. F.W.C.
(10) Eggleston, J. W., *Papers*.
(11) Mission Board Minutes, 10 September 1880. M.O.M.C.
(12) ibid.
(13) Mitchell, Sir Charles, *Report of Inquiry 1887*, p.96.
(14) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Diaries*, 9 October 1882.
(15) ibid, 21 December 1882; 12 December 1883.
(16) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(17) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(18) Baker to President. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(19) Moulton to Chapman, 2 January 1879. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(20) Minns to Chapman, 2 April 1879. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(21) Mitchell, *Appendix to Report in connection with the recent difficulties in, and the affairs of, Tonga, 1887*, p.79.
(22) General Conference Minutes, 1881.
(23) *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, 28 May 1881.
(24) Waterhouse, J. B., *The Secession and Persecution in Tonga*, p.6; Rutherford, N., *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, p.102.
(25) Correspondence, King and Moulton, 18 September 1881. F.W.C.
(26) *Tongan Papers*. N.L.C.
(27) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(28) Mission Board Minutes. M.O.M.C.
(29) Oldmeadow, H. C., *Journal*. A.N.U.
(30) Gordon to F.O., 15 July 1882, F.O., 58/177; Rutherford, ibid, p.120.
(31) Oldmeadow, *Diaries*.
(32) Minutes, ibid.

(33) Oldmeadow, ibid.
(34) Report of Committee, Conference Minutes, 1884.
(35) Waterhouse, J. B., ibid, pp.10-11.
(36) Oldmeadow, ibid, 19 March 1884.
(37) Oldmeadow, ibid, 29 May 1884.
(38) *Tongan Papers*, N.L.C.
(39) *Tongan Papers*, ibid.
(40) *Tongan Papers*, ibid.
(41) *Tongan Papers*, ibid.
(42) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(43) Oldmeadow, ibid, 13 October 1884.
(44) Cummins, ibid, p.321.
(45) Correspondence. F.W.C.
(46) W.P.H.C., Suva. Collet, *Memorandum*, 9 March 1885.
(47) Baker's Memorandum to Mitchell, *Inquiry 1887*, 7 April 1887.
(48) Mitchell, *Report*, 1887, p.5.
(49) Correspondence. F.W.C.
(50) ibid.
(51) *Report*, in Waterhouse, J. B., *Secession and Persecution in Tonga*, p.80.
(52) *Report*, ibid, pp.82-3.
(53) *Report*, ibid, pp.81-3.
(54) *Report*, ibid, p.85.
(55) *Report*, ibid, p.88.
(56) Correspondence, *Tongan Papers*. N.L.C.
(57) *Report*, ibid, p.89. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(58) *Report*, ibid, p.90.
(59) Watsford, J., *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, p.251.
(60) Mitchell, *Report*, 1887, p.8.
(61) *The Persecutions in Tonga, as narrated by onlookers*, 26 June 1886.
(62) Thomson, B., *The Scene Changes*, pp.52-3.
(63) W.P.H.C., Suva—No. 340/1890, Basil Thomson from Nuku'alofa, 14 November 1890, to W. Collet, Secretary to High Commissioner, with copy of Baker's letter, 26 November 1886.
(64) Giles, *Diary*, 26 January 1887. F.O., Correspondence, p.5527.
(65) Brown, Geo., *Report*, pp.41-2; Mitchell, *Appendix to Report*, p.130.
(66) Correspondence. F.W.C.
(67) Mitchell, *Appendix to Report*, pp.8, 9.
(68) Mitchell, *Report*.
(69) Mitchell, *Appendix to Report*.
(70) Mitchell, *Report*.
(71) Mitchell, *Enclosure 1 to Report*, p.15.
(72) Mitchell to President, New South Wales and Queensland Conference, 7 May 1887. Catalogue 169. M.O.M.C.
(73) Mitchell, *Enclosure 2 to Report*.

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[1887-1888]

Chapter XV.

THE IRREPARABLE BREACH

Hopes had been raised in Australia by Sir Charles Mitchell's generous offer 797
to be a reconciler. His official letter to the New South Wales and Queensland 795
Conference expressed his hope "that the Committee will take such steps as may appear to tend in the direction of reuniting the Tongan Wesleyans to the mother society". He added,

> "The present opportunity, if promptly seized, will in all probability afford the best chances of reunion that may occur for years."

Unhappily, events showed that the High Commissioner was over-sanguine.

The Conference, through its Committee of Privileges, immediately decided to send a deputation to Tonga to see whether it was possible to repair the breach. The deputation consisted of W. G. R. Stephinson, then President of the Conference, George Brown, the new Missionary Secretary, and a layman, P. P. Fletcher. The Conference choice of Stephinson was appalling, even though he was President that year; and he must have been crazy to think of himself as a
reconciler. Stephinson had not only been most antagonistic to Baker when he was 797
a missionary twenty years before, but he had recently written in the preface to 795
a publication, *The Persecutions in Tonga* (1886), issued by Moulton's colleague, 643
Crosby: [13]

> "With regard to the statement about the king's dotage" (made by Crosby), "I may state that before leaving Tonga . . . high chiefs including governors and the king's late son, David 'Unga, expressed with bated breath the same to myself on many occasions . . . The decay of his intellectual powers was such that he was now too easily open to ill-advisers." (1)

When the deputation stepped ashore on 27 July 1887 and asked for an interview with the king, Tupou at once said that he would not see Stephinson because of the published remarks about himself which he, naturally, strongly resented. Stephinson returned to Sydney on the ship that had brought him. It was almost too much to expect that Brown and Fletcher would make any headway in the climate of feeling prevailing at the time. They had many conversations with Baker, Watkin, and Moulton, before a final interview with the king on the eve of
their departure on 12 August. Brown had visited Tonga as secretary to the 795
Chapman-Clarke Commission in 1879. He had advocated the removal of Moulton 797
at the 1884 General Conference and was generally regarded as leaning towards Baker.

Upon his return, Brown wrote to Baker in a conciliatory spirit, asking him to be careful about his actions before the 1888 General Conference, and especially about resuming Wesleyan Church land. Brown said, "There is a growing impression gaining here that you are determined to starve out the Church".(2)

The New South Wales and Queensland Conference received the deputation's report when it assembled in January 1888. The very fair and constructive recommendations moved by Brown were:

Footnotes:

(1) *The Persecutions in Tonga*, preface.
(2) *Tongan Papers*. N.L.C.
(3) Report of Brown and Fletcher, 1888, pp.9-10.
(4) Report, ibid, p.24.
(5) *Tongan Papers*. N.L.C.
(6) General Conference Minutes. 1888.
(7) *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, 26 May 1888; General Conference Minutes, 1888.
(8) *Appendix*, Mitchell Report, p.10.
(9) Report, Brown.
(10) Report, Brown, p.33.
(11) General Conference Minutes. 1890.
(12) Brown G., *Autobiography*, p.449.
(13) Brown, ibid, p.461.
(14) Watsford, J., *Glorious Gospel Triumphs*, p.252.
(15) Thurston to Lord Knutsford. F.O.C.P. 5783, No. 80, Enclosure 1; Rutherford, ibid, p.161.
(16) Langham to General Secretary, 8 September 1890. Catalogue 295. M.O.M.C.
(17) Thurston to Colonial Office. 28 August 1888.
(18) Thurston to Lord Knutsford. F.O.C.P. 5784, No. 80, Enclosure 1; Rutherford, ibid, p.161.
(19) Thurston to Colonial Office, 28 August 1888, 9 April 1889, W.P.H.C.; Scarr, *Fragments of Empire*, p.106.
(20) W.P.H.C., Suva; Leefe to Thurston, *Papers*, 128/1889.
(21) Tuku'aho to Thurston, 20 November 1890, W.P.H.C., 341/1889; Scarr, ibid, p.107.
(22) W.P.H.C. Dispatches to Secretary of State, 31 July 1890; Scarr, ibid, p.107.
(23) Brown, G., *Autobiography*, pp.450, 453.
(24) Thurston to Dr. Kelynack. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(25) B.H.T., W.P.H.C. *Papers*. No. 276. par. 17, 1891, in *Memorandum on Tongan Affairs*.
(26) Thurston to Dr. Kelynack. Item 169. M.O.M.C.
(27) ibid.
(28) Cummins, H. G., *Sources of Tongan History*, pp.505-7.
(29) Thomson, B., *The Scene Changes*, pp.212, 220-3.
(30) Thomson, B., *Savage Island. an account of a sojourn in Niue and Tonga*, pp.216-7.
(31) Thomson, B., *The Scene Changes*, p.224.
(32) Tonga Government *Gazette*. 9 January 1891. N.L.C.
(33) Thurston to Knutsford, 16 February 1891. F.O. 58/260. N.L.C.
(34) Baker had become a Tongan citizen on 6 April 1881 (Records of the British Commissioner and Consul. Tonga: F.3/39. N.L.C.). It was during this visit to the U.S.A. that an LL.D. was claimed to have been conferred on him by an American University, but verification is lacking. [797] [645] [641] [563]
(35) Thurston to Knutsford, 16 February 1891. F.O. 58/260. N.L.C.
(36) *Book of Tongan Traditions*. The Palace, Nuku'alofa.
(37) Conference Minutes, 1898. F.W.C.
(38) Seddon, R. J., *Visit to Tonga, Fiji, Savage Island and Cook Island*, p.17.
(39) Seddon, ibid, p.18.
(40) *Seddon Papers*, New Zealand Archives, 60/73; Baker to Seddon, 4 September 1900.
(41) Seddon, ibid, p.21.
(42) *The Missionary Review*, June 1901.
(43) Thomson, B., *The Scene Changes*, p.204.
(44) Ross, A., *New Zealand's Aspirations in the Pacific in 19th Century*, p.282.
(45) Scarr, D., *Fragments of Empire*, p.110.
(46) Colonial Office, 225/67, footnote, 9 November 1904; Scarr, ibid, p.111.
(47) Gifford, *Tongan Society*. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 61, p.108.
(48) General Conference Minutes. 1913.
(49) Correspondence with Missionary Secretary, 10 December 1910. Catalogue 115. M.O.M.C.
(50) Correspondence, ibid, 28 May 1910.

[1924-1925]

The Chief Justice also quoted the letter to the General Conference, 23 April 1888, 795
and the king's speech when opening Parliament on 21 November 1888. (See 695
supra, pp. 196-7-8.) 645

By these judgments the Queen's action was completely vindicated in law. 795
However, the expectation that the dissentients might return to the Church was 578
not realized. Union had failed to win the assent of nearly one-third of the old Free Church. After judgement was given in favour of the united Church, an offer was made immediately to Mr. Watkin's party for the joint use of the buildings in all villages where the secessionists had six or more adherents, for at least twelve months; this included two Sunday and two mid-week services. The offer met with a blunt refusal, an indication in itself of the intensity of the prevailing feelings.

Mr. Watkin and his associates wished to appeal to Britain; but the High Commissioner pointed out that the Privy Council of Tonga was the final court of appeal and Britain had no power to intervene. In announcing this decision of the British Government, on 20 December 1924, the High Commissioner added his plea that the Tongan people support the Queen in "her earnest desire to secure national unity". Such words had no apparent effect. Nor did the death of Mr. Watkin influence those whom he had led out of union to reconsider their position. It was on 23 January 1925 that Mr. Watkin died, in his 88th year. He was born in Ha'apai in 1837, son of the missionary, James Watkin. He had been in the ministry for 59 years, practically the whole of that time in Tonga. There was no doubt of his attachment to the Tongan people nor of this faithfulness to his ministry.

A last effort to obtain British intervention was made by Finau 'Ulukalala on behalf of the anti-union party. He led a deputation to the High Commissioner,
Sir Eyre Hutson, when he visited Nuku'alofa on 7 August 1925. The High [648]
Commissioner reminded him that the Tongan Constitution would not allow any review of the judgment of the Privy Council and that the refusal of the British Government to interfere in Tongan affairs had been communicated to the people in December 1924. This answer was final.

Footnotes

(1) Watkin, *Journal*. F.W.C. 113
(2) The Queen to R. Page, F.W.C.
(3) Mission Board, *Minutes*, 2 November 1923. M.O.M.C.
(4) Page to J. G. Wheen, Missionary Secretary, 11 February 1924. F.W.C.
(5) Watkin to The Queen. F.W.C.
(6) Watkin to The Queen, 11 February 1924. F.W.C.
(7) ibid, 9 April. F.W.C.
(8) ibid, 16 April. F.W.C.
(9) Page to Wheen. F.W.C.
(10) The Queen to Watkin, 22 April. F.W.C.
(11) ibid. F.W.C.
(12) Watkin to The Queen. F.W.C.
(13) Kisi Taulani, Conference Secretary, to Watkin. F.W.C.
(14) Watkin to Masterton. W.P.H.C.
(15) Dr. Sugden to Page. F.W.C.
(16) Page to Wheen, 19 July 1924. F.W.C.
(17) ibid. F.W.C.
(18) Neill, J. S., *Ten Years in Tonga*.
(19) *Appendix to Sir Charles Mitchell Report*, 1887, p.144.

[1924 - ca. 1972]

Queen's successors should have this prerogative was hardly considered in 1924 795
when the revised Constitution included it. This question has not been reviewed 643
since then but there is a case for re-examining it now.

The royal oath at the Tongan coronation has followed the British practice. The sovereign swears to maintain "the Protestant Reformed Religion". This prevents the succession of a non-Protestant to the throne of Tonga but it is not related to any particular Protestant Church. There is no State Church in Tonga even though the sovereign, until the present, has approved the election of the President of the Free Wesleyan Church annually and has always appointed him also as his chaplain.

Footnotes

(1) Page to the President-General, 18 February 1925. F.W.C. 113
(2) Page to Dr. McCallum, 29 June 1925. F.W.C.

[1891-1960]

assisted Dr. Moulton in translation work in 1904 in Sydney and was ordained 793
that year by the New South Wales Conference. Later, he collaborated with Dr. 795
Collocott in writing *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans* and other contributions to [113]
anthropological research. He had a most beneficial influence on the hundreds of [815]
students who passed under his care; among these were Prince Tungi, and his sons, the present king and the premier. And what more shall be said of William Tupou, Methuselah Talakai, Charles Napa'a, and many other heroic souls who moulded and guided the Church during difficult days?

Sau Faupula, L.Th., by general consent, was the outstanding minister of his generation. Those qualified to evaluate his work have considered that no Pacific Islands minister surpassed him in dedication and in qualities of leadership. His great-grandfather, John Faupula, was the first convert in Fiji, who would have succeeded to the chieftainship in the Lau group but was forced to flee to Tonga.
His son Kebuel and his grandson Robert, Sau's father, were ministers. Sau's son, [797]
Harold, is a missionary in Arnhem Land, North Australia.

Sau entered Tupou College, Nafualu, in 1925, eventually becoming dux and a teacher there in 1929. With his full teaching programme and his gardening tasks he still studied for the L.Th. and, in November 1933, completed the course, including New Testament Greek and the Latin Vulgate, being the first Pacific Islander to gain the L.Th. Diploma. He was one of the first Pacific Islands deputations to Australia in 1934. He was a representative to General Conference in 1948, 1954 and 1960. On the morning after the 1960 General Conference ended, on 27 May, he died suddenly from a heart attack. He had been the first director of the Young People's Department and also Secretary of Conference for 14 years. By his eloquence and forcefulness he exerted a powerful influence through his preaching in churches and in the open air. His transparent sincerity and consistency of life underlined his utterances. It was recognized that his loss to the Tongan Church was irreparable and, even now, his contemporaries wistfully exclaim, "If only Sau were still with us!"

The supply of Tongan ministers and teachers for Overseas Missions never 797
faltered. When the Mission in Papua (Islands Region) was begun in 1891, John Kuli became renowned both for his preaching and his skill as a navigator; in an enthusiastic meeting at Nuku'alofa in 1910 he offered to return, but he was far too old. After the Mission in the Solomon Islands was established in 1902, James Nau, with a Samoan colleague, Pologa, showed conspicuous devotion when waiting in an exposed dinghy off an island in the Ontong Java atolls for thirteen weeks until the people ceased their opposition and allowed the teachers to land. Another faithful missionary was Paul Havea, eldest son of John Havea, who served for many years in the Solomons, including the years of Japanese occupation in the Second World War. A younger John Taufa (now Bishop in the United Church of Papua, New Guinea and the Solomons) and Daniel Palavi have laboured in Bougainville and Vella Lavella, Solomons, for nearly twenty years.

Jonathan Meleke and Ezekiel Hau'ofa went to Papua in 1937; they rallied their people during the confusion of war when overseas missionaries had been withdrawn by Government orders. Hau'ofa continued for 33 years in much isolation that called for special responsibility. Meleke died in 1944. Another devoted missionary in Papua, David Mone, said of Meleke, "I was jealous of Meleke, jealous of his goodness". David Mone, L.Th., was a strong leader, both in Papua during the war years, and afterwards as a pioneer in the Lai Valley in

[1924 - 1972]

the Papua-New Guinea Highlands. John Fiusati, L.Th., also a missionary in the 797
Highlands, like Mone, died soon after returning to Tonga.

The Church in Tonga has received wholehearted support from distinguished 794
lay members of Conference who placed the interests of the Church first always in 795
their objectives. Among these were Solomon Ata, who succeeded Prince Tungi as Premier, Moulton Finau Fisi'ihoi, lawyer and veteran member of Parliament, John Phillip Tongilava, the Queen's Secretary for more than thirty years, William Mataka 'Umufuke and Jonathan Tupou, prominent civil servants, all now deceased.

Two of the leaders today typify the dedication of the Church to its tasks. 795
The Secretary of Conference is Siupeli Taliai, B.A., Dip.Ed., L.Th., still a
comparatively young man, and first Tongan to be Principal of Tupou College [873]
with its enrolment of 700. Unusually energetic and forthright in religious and [771]
educational affairs alike, he insists on challenging the people always to obey the one Master, Jesus Christ, whose will should determine the course Tonga is setting — in family life, in the church and the nation.

The President of Conference since 1970 is John 'Amanaki Havea, B.D., of Drew Theological Seminary, U.S.A. and Doctor of Divinity (St. Paul's University, Tokyo). Son of the saintly John Havea, brother of Paul Havea of the Solomons, he breathes the same spirit of complete devotion. Except for Setaleki Manu, President for the year of reunion, 1924, 'Amanaki is the first Tongan President. He was also the first Tongan Principal of Sia'atoutai Theological College. He was chosen Chairman of the first Conference of Pacific Churches in 1960 and held that office until 1971. In 1972 he was elected one of the eight Presidents of the World Methodist Council, the only representative on the presidium from Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. His sagacity and his wide experience have won him the respect and esteem of his own people.

'Amanaki and Siupeli are the third generation of ministers in their families. Sau Faupula was the fourth in his family line. No Church shows more clearly than the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga the influence of the families of ministers from whom one generation after another has drawn its Church leaders. So the goodly succession runs. In such leadership and with the people's response lies the hope of the Church for the future.

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(1) Luke, H., *Queen Salote and Her Kingdom*, p.77. [113]

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twenty-four cruise ships also called at Vava'u, approximately 180 miles north of Tongatapu, bringing 9.463 tourists to that island. In 1975, 17,500 tourists visited Vava'u as part of their cruise itinerary. 457

Figure 2
Tourists to Tonga by Ship and Plane: 1958 to 1975
(Landings at Tongatapu)

Year	*Passengers*	*Number of Ships*	*In-Passengers*	*Flights*
1958	1.715	3	64	n.a.
1959	2.600	5	45	8
1960	n.a.	7	189	23
1961	2.866	4	308	35
1962	3,677	6	524	66
1963	4,353	6	668	75
1964	5,626	10	992	117
1965	6,398	8	1,174	144
1966	14,581	20	1.460	146
1967	14.240	14	2,883	231
1968	11.111	12	3,465	182
1969	18,111	19	4.326	230
1970	21.025	24	4,001	324
1971	23.500	32	4,000	314
1972	27,259	29	4,599	358
1973	31,502	48	6,356	403
1974	36,308	43	6,403	397
1975	44,968	n.a.	6,770	n.a.

Sources: Kingdom of Tonga Premier's Report. 1958 +; Kingdom of Tonga (1970) DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1970-1975; P. D. Wallis 1971; A. Buchanan 1975. [n.a. = Not Available.] [113]

The Director of the Tongan Visitors Bureau (TVB) wrote in 1973 that foreign exchange receipts generated through tourism amounted to approximately us$2,154,000, making tourism the second largest generator of foreign exchange after copra (us$3,052,000). In 1974 it was estimated that tourist revenue increased to approximately us$3,270,000, and that projected tourist-generated revenue could possibly amount to as much as us$15,300,000 by 1980. Tourism is definitely increasing in Tonga. 457 434

The Government of Tonga is interested in developing tourism for the apparent economic benefits. The TVB was created in 1971 to work towards that goal, and it is the TVB's function to disseminate information to promote tourism. A survey of tourist "likes" and "dissatisfactions" taken by the TVB indicated that many visitors felt that most Tongans did 457 654

457 as a result of non-Tongan influences; they must also study the effects of
177 tourism elsewhere in the Pacific islands. From these two sources, they
178 should design for the future. The 1970-75 development plan stated that
179 tourism if properly controlled could make a positive contribution to the economy. Possibly the wording of a new development plan should read that tourism *must be* properly controlled if it is to make a positive contribution to the economy, the Tongan hosts, and the non-Tongan guests.

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> 797 [*to*] *the exercise of this holy discipline over their fellow countrymen. They are valuable auxiliaries to our work.*⁽⁸⁵⁾

[643] Such sentiments led to an eventual break which came in the 1860s; King George Tupou I gradually separated himself from his Wesleyan advisers, with the exception of the Rev. S. W. Baker.⁽⁸⁶⁾ And so, it is only in this 795 decade of the 20th century that a Tongan finally became the leader of the Tongan Church in Tonga.

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85. Adams 1953; emphasis mine.
86. See Rutherford 1971.

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OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

NOTE

* This is a slightly revised version of a paper presented at the Symposium on 114
Demographic Studies of Small Populations held at the Annual Meeting of
the American Anthropological Association, Washington D.C., November 20,
1976. I thank Kathy Adams, Lee Lefferts, and Fred Korn for valuable discussion while I was preparing the paper.

Fieldwork in Tonga was supported by an International Fellowship from 122
the American Association of University Women, and this support is gratefully acknowledged. I also wish to thank the Government of Tonga under 114
His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV for permission to conduct fieldwork. Particular thanks are due to the people of the village I have called
"Motulahi" for tolerating my enquiries, and I have done what I can in
reporting my findings to protect their privacy. For this reason I cannot name
those to whom I am especially grateful. However, I do wish to acknowledge 115
my special debt to Vai T, the person who assisted me in conducting the
household survey discussed in the paper.

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000 35. *Notes on the* Geology *of the* Tonga Islands. By J. J. Lister, Esq., M.A. (Read June 24, 1891.)

[Communicated by J. E. Marr, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Sec. G.S.]

[Plate XXIII.]

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I. Introduction.

121 Very little of a detailed character has, so far as I am aware, been published on the geology of the Tonga Islands.

Prof. Dana makes a brief mention of some of the islands in 'Coral and Coral Islands'*; and in the edition of 'Coral Reefs' published in 1874 Darwin gave a summary of what was known of the group†.

114 I spent several months in Tonga in 1889 and 1890, and had opportunities of visiting some of the islands in H.M.S. 'Egeria,' which was engaged, for part of the time, in making a survey. Such observations as I made on the geology of the group are embodied in the following notes.

126 I am indebted to Mr. Alfred Harker, M.A., F.G.S., who has
114 examined the volcanic rocks which I obtained ‡, and also to Dr. John Murray, who has looked over sections of the calcareous rocks of Eua.

II. Topography of the Group.

131 The Tonga or Friendly Islands are situated in the Pacific Ocean between 18° and 22° 30′ lat. S., and on either side of the 175th degree long. W. Tongatabu lies a little over 1000 miles to the N.N.E. of Auckland in New Zealand. The large islands of Fiji are about 400 miles to the W.N.W., and those of Samoa about 300 miles to the N.N.E.

The greater number of islands fall into three main groups. The
[103] northernmost is Vavau, which consists of one moderately large island (about 13 miles in its longest diameter), giving its name to

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* 2nd ed., pp. 288 & 289.

† P. 212 and elsewhere, 3rd ed. (1889).

● [113] ‡ Mr. Harker has published notes on these specimens in the Geol. Mag. for June, 1891.

96: Lister N-5 (1889-1890) 1891
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133 175 mound. The volcano was still in eruption the following year. In 1887 the height was estimated as 290 feet by a French man-of-war; and from a sketch taken in that year, it appears that the summit of the island presented a rugged, uneven outline*.

The 'Egeria' visited the island in Oct. 1889. In the four years that had elapsed since its formation, a large portion had been removed by the action of the sea. Only a part (perhaps one third) of the original wide-based mound remained. This was limited for half its circumference by a cliff which was highest in the middle (153 feet), where it faced south, and subsided gradually at either end. From the summit of the cliff the surface of the mound sloped evenly downwards until it reached the level of a wide flat marked by tidal ridges, which extended round that part of the circumference of the mound not limited by the cliff. Landslips from the cliff were of frequent occurrence at high water; as many as twelve were seen in one afternoon, and the ground round the edge of the cliff was traversed by concentric cracks, showing where slices had already become loosened preparatory to their descent. Capt. Oldham erected a line of cairns at equal distances, extending from the edge of the cliff—down the slope of the mound and over the flat—as a means of measuring the rate at which the island is reduced.

133 The mound consisted of layers of finely-divided volcanic ash. On the face of the cliff the layers were marked by the salts which had crystallized at the surface more abundantly in some than in others, and it might be seen that each layer was thickest at the highest part of the mound, and gradually thinned out towards the periphery.

Numbers of volcanic bombs were scattered over the slope of the mound, being largest and most numerous at the highest part. These appear to have been ejected at the close of the eruption, as none appeared in the cliff-section; and the even, unscored outline of the slope negatived the idea that they had accumulated at the surface by the removal of any considerable quantities of finer materials.

The lavas presented all stages of vesicular structure, and some of the bombs displayed a distinct spiral twist in the surface ridges.

Mr. Harker† has examined the lavas and finds that they are basic augite-andesites of specific gravity 2·708.

The temperature of the interior of the mound was still high at the time of our visit. In a hole 7 feet deep a thermometer rose to 100° Fahr., while it registered 77°·5 at the surface.

To the south of the island there was an extensive shallow area with 3 fathoms of water over it. It appears that this was, in part at least, occupied by that portion of the original mound which has

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013 * The above details are taken from an account of the island by Capt. Wharton, R.N., F.R.S., published in 'Nature' for Jan. 23, 1890 (pp. 276–278). This account is accompanied by figures and a map.

† Geol. Mag. for June, 1891, p. 250.

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been removed by the action of the waves. Much of the material so removed has been thrown upon the north side of the island, forming the flat above mentioned, and an extensive shallow area beyond it. 133

It seems clear that unless another eruption occurs the island will in a short time be reduced again to the condition of a submarine bank formed of volcanic ashes rearranged by the action of the waves *.

It is remarkable that the depth of 1021 fathoms has been found between Falcon Island and Nomuka, the nearest of the Hapai Islands.

Next in the series come the high volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao. Tofua is a volcano in a state of intermittent activity. It is marked in the Admiralty chart as attaining a height of 1890 feet above the sea. The summit presents a fairly even outline when seen from a distance, and the sides slope steeply in all directions. The crater is situated on the northern side. 131 133

Kao is said to attain a height of over 3000 feet. It presents a singularly-perfect conical outline, from all points of view. It has not been in activity within the period of native tradition.

Continuing the line are Metis Island, which appeared a few years before Falcon Island, and is stated in the Admiralty chart to have been still in activity in 1886; and the volcano Lette, which is figured in the chart of the group (No. 2421). In 1866, when this island was visited by Lieut. Creak, R.N., in H.M.S. 'Esk,' vapour was seen issuing from the crater †.

To the north of Vavau is the volcano of Amargura. An explosion occurred in 1847, when the island was in part "destroyed by the eruption of its crater" and "ashes were thrown in large quantities on passing ships 500-600 miles to the N.E." ‡.

Northwards the line passes through Boscawen and Keppel Islands, which lie close together, halfway between Amargura and Samoa.

Boscawen Island (=Niua-tabu-tabu) is described in Findlay's Directory as one entire mountain about 2000 feet in height "resembling the Moluccas;" it is therefore probably a volcanic island.

Niua-fou (or Good Hope Island), lying considerably to the westward of these islands, is probably a member of the same series. It is described as a volcanic island with black lava rocks all round the shores, and with a crater in the middle containing a brackish-water lake. An eruption occurred in 1853, when a village was destroyed and many lives were lost. Another eruption occurred in 1867 §.

In the continuation of the direct line northward is the large volcanic island of Savaii, the most westerly of the Samoan islands. The Samoan volcanoes, however, form a series having a direction approximately W.N.W. and E.S.E., which crosses that of which the

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* For a fuller account (with figs.) of the present condition of the island, see a paper by the present writer in Proc. Roy. Geograph. Soc. vol. xii. (1890) p. 157. (113)

† Findlay, 'South Pacific Directory,' 3rd ed. p. 456.

‡ Findlay, *op. cit.* p. 456.

§ Findlay, *op. cit.* p. 558.

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[Tongatabu]

133 channel is composed of a higher central area, separated by a rapid descent from the lower peripheral part. It has evidently been elevated in two stages.

IV. Conclusion.

133
105 The view of the mode of formation of the Tonga atolls suggested in Darwin's 'Coral Reefs,' is that they grew during a period of subsidence, when the volcanoes of the group were inactive, and that elevation has occurred simultaneously with a recent volcanic outbreak *. Dana also considers that the islands were formed during subsidence, and regards the elevation which has taken place as merely a local phenomenon †. The additional information on the group which we now possess appears to make a different view of the formation of these islands more probable. It is clear that elevation has been in progress for a long period, and has been renewed again and again after intervals during which reefs of considerable extent have grown; it has to a greater or less extent affected all the larger divisions of the group, while at Vavau and Eua reef-structures have been raised to heights of over 500 and 1000 feet.

Such an elevatory movement is quite in keeping with the presence of the line of volcanoes which traverses the group, and I am not aware that there is any evidence that these have, as a whole, passed through a quiescent stage previous to their activity in recent times.

With regard to atolls in general, one reason for considering them to have been formed during subsidence is the improbability of there being any other basis than a subsided island on which the reefs could have grown. In the Tonga Islands, however, the soundings of H.M.S. 'Egeria' show that Tongatabu and Nomuka rest on shallow banks, and where the underlying basis of the islands is exposed, as in the Nomuka group and at Eua, it is seen that they consist of layers of volcanic materials laid out under water. The process now going on at Falcon Island illustrates the way in which a volcanic mound, composed of soft material and originally standing above the sea, may be reduced to a submarine bank, and so form a basis for coral growth.

In consideration of these facts it appears probable that the atoll-shaped islands of the southern part of the Tonga Group have grown on banks of volcanic material laid out in shallow water, and that there is no necessity to call in the hypothesis of subsidence to account for their formation.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIII.

102
131
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[114]
Map of the Tonga Islands. The map of Eua is prepared partly from the survey of H.M.S. 'Egeria' (1888). The outlines of the patches of volcanic formation in the central part of the island are not accurately drawn.

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[113]

* 'Coral Reefs,' 3rd ed. pp. 177, 186, 188.

† 'Origin of Coral Reefs and Islands,' Am. Journ. Sci. ser. 3, vol. xxx. (1885) p. 99.

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Theses and Dissertations on the South Pacific

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113 We continue what we consider a valuable service to all students and scholars interested in the South Pacific Commission area: a continuing list of theses and dissertations on the Pacific islands and peoples that have been submitted to universities throughout the world.

The list is being compiled by Dr W. G. Coppell of Macquarie University, who hopes that any theses not included will be brought to his notice so that scholars may have a complete reference not available elsewhere. All correspondence should be directed to him, c/o South Pacific Commission, B.P. D5, Noumea Cedex, New Caledonia.

TONGA

ALLEN, Ross Roundy
Developing a teacher education program at the Church College of Hawaii for students from American Samoa, Western Samoa and Tonga.
University of Utah, 1962. Ed. D. 404 pp.

BAKER, John Richard
Transfer costs in the overseas and internal shipping services of Fiji and Tonga.
Australian National University, 1974. Ph.D. xxi, 418pp. figs., tbls.

BARNEY, Ralph Dale
The mass media, their environment and prospects in Western Polynesia.
University of Missouri – Columbia 1971. Ph.D. 484pp.

BATES, Kathleen Macgowan
The foundations of modern Tonga.
University of New Zealand (Auckland), 1933 M.A. 100pp.

BAUER, G.R.
The geology of Tofua Island, Tonga.
University of Hawaii, 1969, M.Sc. vi, 52pp. illus., map.

BROOKS, Jean Ingram
Anglo-French rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1815-1861.
University of Chicago, 1925. Ph.D. 823pp.

CAMPBELL, Samuel John
The development of education in Tonga.
University of Queensland, 1958. M. Ed. 274pp.

CATO, Arthur Cyril
A survey of native education in Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa, with special attention to Fiji.
University of Melbourne, 1951, Ph.D. xxv, 586pp.

CHRISTENSEN, Georgina
An evaluation of Mariner's account of the Tongan Islands as an historical document.
University of Auckland, 1974. M.A. research essay.

CLARK, William Fenton
Population, agriculture and urbanisation in the Kingdom of Tonga.
Michigan State University, 1975. Ph.D. (2), viii, 190pp. illus.

COUPER, Alastair Dougal
The island trade. An analysis of the environment and operation of seaborne trade among three island groups in the Pacific.
Australian National University 1967. Ph.D. xxxi, 380pp. figs, maps, pls, tbls.

CRAWFORD, C.J.
Settlement change in Tonga, 1790-1858.
University of California (Los Angeles), 1958. M.A.

DUNCAN, Leith Stuart Wilson
Crime by Polynesians in Auckland.
University of Auckland, 1970. M.A. xxxi, 286, vii pp.

FAKAHUA, Sione
John Wesley and worship in the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga.
Pacific Theological College, 1968, B.D. 125pp.

FAKATENE, Inoke
A study of Tongan students' success or failure at the Church College of Hawaii as related to The High School G.P.A. level of English proficiency and selected intervening factors.
Brigham Young University, 1970 M.A. vii, 90pp.

FAKATENE, Inoke
The relationship between self-concept and academic achievement of Tonga students at Liahona High SKCHOOL, Tonga.
Brigham Young University, 1975. Ph.D. viii, 138pp.

FINAU, Samivela Toa
Pastoral visiting. (An aspect of pastoral care). A critical assessment of pastoral visiting in Tongan Weslyan village churches.
Pacific Theological College, 1975. B.D. 160pp.

FITZGERALD, Neil Richard
New Zealand public opinion and the attempted assassination of Rev. S.W. Baker and his eventual removal from Tonga: a study of New Zealand opinion.
University of Otago, 1962. M.A. ii, 45pp.

FOLAU, Siosaia
A study of the role of the Minister in the free Weslyan Church of Tonga.
Pacific Theological College, 1975. Dip. Th. 88pp.

FURNEAUX, Matelita
Pacific Islands students at Auckland University: an exploratory survey of the problems of learning and adjustment of undergraduates from Tonga, Cook Islands and Western Samoa.
University of Auckland, 1973. M.A. ix, 184pp.

GEORGES, Zigrid J.
Polynesian social structure: a re-examination.
University of Sydney 1968. B.A. (Hons). 158pp. tbls.

GREGORY, Kenneth Blake
Tongan education: current context and problems.
Massey University, 1973. Dip. Ed. 94pp.

GIXYCKI., Renate von
Haku mele, der Poet in Polynesian. Ein sozialanthropologischer Beitrag zur Rolle des Kunstlers.
Universitat Gottingen, 1970; Phil.Fak.Diss., 135pp.

HALAPUA, Winston
The comparison of the Book of Proverbs with Tongan Proverbs.
Pacific Theological College, 1971. B.D. 101pp.

HAMMER, George Edward
The early years of the Weslyan Methodist mission in Tonga (1822-1855).
University of Otago, 1952. M.A. 174pp. map.

HARDAKER, John Brian
Agriculture and development in the Kingdom of Tonga.
University of New England, 1975. Ph.D. xiv, 381pp.

HEMPENSTALL, Peter J.
A survey of German commerce in the Pacific 1857-1914.
University of Queensland, 1969. B.A. (Hons.) 6, 162, 4 (6)pp.

HORNABROOK, Judith Sidney
New Zealand and the Tongan Defence Force, 1939-1945.
University of New Zealand (Wellington), 1952. M.A. 139pp.

KAEPPLER, Adrienne Lois
The structure of Tongan dance.
University of Hawaii, 1967. Ph.D. xviii, 334pp.

KAVALIKU, Senipisi Langi
Educational reorganisation for national development.
Victoria University of Wellington, 1967. Ph.D. 642pp.

KEMP, Arthur George
The construction and standardisation of a vocabulary test in Tongan.
University of New Zealand (Auckland), 1958. Dip.Ed. 16, 4pp.

KEMP, Arthur George
An account of education in The Kingdom of Tonga: its problems and current development.
University of New Zealand (Auckland), 1959. Dip.Ed. 30pp.

KITTO, Graeme Trevor
Non-Maori Polynesians in three New Zealand communities, a geographic study of some aspects of migration and settlement.
University of Auckland, 1969. M.A. xix, 142, 111pp.

KOCH, Gerd
Die fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln und deren Folgen.
Georg-August Universitat. Gottingen, 1949. Phil. Fak. Dis. ix, 238pp. maps.

LATUKEFU, Sione
Church and state in Tonga: The influence of the Weslyan Methodist Missionaries on the political development of Tonga, 1826-1875.
Australian National University, 1966. Ph.D., xiv 637pp incl. genealogical charts, index of Tongan words.

LESSIN, Alexander jphilip
Governmental change in SKAWANA, A Tongan village in Fiji.
University of California, (Los Angeles), 1972. Ph.D. 306pp.

LOVETT, Irwin Warnock
A study of Tongan children with special attention given to the pre-adolescent age group.
University of New Zealand (Auckland), 1958, Dip.Ed., 46pp.

LUOMALA, Ellen Katherine
Maui, the demi-god: factors in the development of a Polynesian hero cycle.
University of California (Berkeley), 1936 Ph.D. 88, vii pp.

MACKENZIE, Margaret
The concept of civilisation: European evaluations of The Tongans 1616-1824.
University of Chicago, 1971. M.A.

McRAE, Carol Joy
Teacher training in Tonga and the Cook Islands: a comparative study.
University of Auckland, 1973. M.A. ix, 200pp.

MAFI, Tupou Veiongo
The role of education in national development in Tonga.
University of London, 1973. M.A. 117pp.

MAUDE, Alaric Mervyn
Population, land and livelihood in Tonga.
Australian National University, 1965. xvii, 333pp. figs, illus., maps, tbls.

MEYER, Paul A.
Demographic resource-use differentials on Eua Island, Tonga.
University of Hawaii, 1974. M.A. ix, 168pp.

MIMLER, Kathleen Ann
The economic and horticultural aspects of selected cash crops in Tonga.
University of Hawaii, 1975. M.Sc. xii. 255pp.

MITRONOVAS, Walter
Seismic velocity anomalies in the upper mantle beneath the Tongan-Kermadec island arc.
Columbia University, 1969. Ph.D. 118pp.

MONE, Alifalefi
A study of adolescence in the changing Tongan social situation and its implications for Christian education in the Free Weslyan Church in Tonga.
Pacific Theological College, 1975. B.D.

MORTON, Ermel Joseph
A descriptive grammar of Tonga.
Indiana University, 1962. Ph.D. 206pp.

MORTON, Keith Louis
Kinship, economics and exchange in a Tongan vi University of Oregon, 1972. Ph.D. 140pp.

113 **NEWELL**, William Hare
A brief study of problems of acculturation arising from troop-native contact in the area around Fua'amoto Aerodrome, Friendly Islands.
Victoria University of Wellington, 1945. M.A. (No copy in any N.Z. Library).

PIETRUSEWSKY, Michael
The physical anthropology of early Tongan populations: a study of bones and teeth and assessment of their biological affinities based on cranial comparisons with eight other Pacific populations.
University of Toronto, 1969. Ph.D. 543pp.

POULSEN, Jens Ib.
A contribution to the pre-history of the Tongan Islands.
Australian National University, 1967. Ph.D. 2v (xii, ix, 369pp.) map.

PUSCH, Dagmar
Erster Kulturkontakt der Polynesier mit europaern. Betrachet an Hand einheimischer Quellen.
Freie Universitat Berlin, 1958 Phil. Fak. Diss. 148, 127pp.

RAMALINGAM, Shivaji
The mosquito fauna of Samoa and Tonga and its relation to subperiodic Bancroftian filariasis.
University of California (Los Angeles), 1965 Ph.D. 184pp.

ROGERS, Garth Anthony.
Politics and social dynamics of Niuafo'ou; an outlier in the Kingdom of Tonga.
University of Auckland, 1968. M.A. xvi, 184, 17pp.

ROGERS, Garth Anthony
Kai and Kava in Niuatoputapu: Social relations, ideologies and contexts in a rural Tongan community.
University of Auckland, 1975. Ph.D. 2v. 525pp.

RUTHERFORD, Noel
Shirley Baker and the Kingdom of Tonga.
Australian National University 1966. Ph.D. x, 460pp. maps. Published as: Shirley Baker and the Kingdom of Tonga. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1971.

SAHLINS, Marshall D.
Social stratification in Polynesia. A study of adaptive variation in culture.
Columbia University, 1954. Ph.D. 470pp.

SCHOCH, Alfred
Rituelle Menschentotungen in Polynesien. Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Menschenopfer unter Berucksichtigung der Kulturellen, soziologischen und wirtschaftlichen Struktur dieser unter dem ethnologischen Samelbegriff "Polynesische Kultur" zu sammengefahten Bevolkerung-sgruppe auf den Inseln der Sudsee.
Universitat Freiburg, 1954, Phil. Fak. Diss., 99 pp

SEVELE, Feleti Vakauta
Regional inequalities in socio-economic development in Tonga: a preliminary study.
University of Canterbury, 1973. Ph.D. xviii, 373pp. figs, pls. tbls.

SHEPHERD, Walter
The position of Tubou College in the education system of Tonga.
University of Melbourne, 1939. B.Ed. 45pp.

SMITH, Joseph Raymond.
A study to develop a business curriculum for Samoan and Tongan students.
University of Northern Colorado, 1962, Ed.D. 243pp.

SPARKS, Robert William
Polynesian tattooing: The Tongan techniques, iconography, patronage, profession and aesthetics.
University of Hawaii, 1965. iv, 131pp.

SUTTON, John
Education in Tonga: church and state: an appraisal of the functions of church and state in education.
University of Auckland, 1963. Dip. Ed. vi, 97pp.

SUTTON, John
The development of Tongan education, with particular reference to the inter-relationships between Church and State.
University of New South Wales, 1973. M.Ed. 2 v. (1-vii, 316pp; Vol. 2 – consists of two tape cassettes titled "Transcripts of recorded interview, for Appendices B and C.")

TAMAHORI, Maxime J.
Cultural change in Tongan bark-cloth manufacture.
University of Auckland, 1963. M.A. xvi, 225pp.

TAYLOR, Jack W.
Education in Tonga.
University of Canterbury, 1963. Dip.Ed. – 183pp.

TOHI, Villiami T
A study in the nature of the Church as seen in the Anglican Church of Tonga.
Pacific Theological College, 1972. B.D. 113pp.

TU'INUKUAFE, Karl Leonard
Overseas-trained Tongans and their contribution to the modern development of Tonga.
University of Auckland, 1976. M.A. v. 140pp.

TUPOUNIUA, Penisimani
Persistence and change: a study of a village in Tonga.
University of Auckland, 1970. M.A. 106 8pp.

UPLEGGER, Helga
Der Sakrale Furst auf Tahiti, Hawaii und Tonga: eine Untersuchung zum sakralen Herr-schertum in Polynesien.
Universitat Mainz 1951. Phil. Fak. Diss. 8, 280pp.

URBANOWICZ, Charles Francis
Tongan culture: The methodology of an ethnograpic reconstruction.
University of Oregon, 1972. Ph.D. 132pp.

WAGNER, Konrad Adolph
The craniology of Oceanic races.
University of Oslo, 1937. Ph.D. 193pp. figs. pls.

WALSH, Allen Crosbie
Nuku'alofa, Tonga; a preliminary study of urbanisation and in-migration.
Victoria University of Wellington, 1964. M.A. 230pp.

WHITEHEAD, David Warwick
Tongans in Auckland: a preliminary investigation of the Tongan community in the central Auckland urban area.
Massey University, 1974. M.A. 43pp.

WHITEHEAD, Gillian
Polynesian musical instruments.
University of Sydney, 1966, M. Mus. 2v. (108pp; unpaged). Illus., music, tbls.

WILKINSON, Roger Charles
Methodist missionary influence on native education in Tonga, Fiji and New Guinea, with special reference to government-mission relationships since 1942.
University of Sydney, 1959. M.Ed. 2v. (372pp.)

137 /12 cont./
241 of the island, left standing as a protection for the plantings.

174 Polynesians, probably coming from Samoa, reached this Archipelago 1000 to 1500 years ago, and settled many of its islands. All the Tonga Islands, from Niua Fo'ou and Niua Toputapu in the north to 'Ata in the south, formed a kingdom headed by Tu'i Tonga. The
[173] latter lost power after approximately 1470, when it passed over in part to collateral lines (Tu'i Ha'atakalaua and Tu'i Kanokupolu) of the
175 ruling family. A revolt in the year 1799 introduced a period of
177 civil-warlike confusion that did not end until 1852. At this time
[669] European influences (5) has long since reached Tonga. For in the year 1616 Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou were discovered by Shouten and Le Maire, in 1643 Abel Janszon Tasman found 'Ata, 'Eua, Tongatapu, Nomuka, Tofua and Kao, and from the year 1767 (Wallis) the Tonga Islands were increasingly visited by European ships. In 1795 the first whites settled in the
[797] Archipelago, and the systematic missionary work in the island group began in the year 1826. At the end of the civil wars and after the
175
643 first quarter century of successful mission work, Chief Taufa'ahau of Ha'apai, who possessed certain rights to the ruling title of Tu'i Kanokupolu, headed the united Christian state of all Tonga Islands, as King George Tupou I. (6)

642 /13/ Today the Tonga Kingdom with a population of nearly 50,000 natives
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5. By "European" influences we mean, above all, West European influences, especially English and, related to these, Australian, New Zealand and North American influences.

● [113] 6. A more detailed description of the development from 1616 to 1852 in G. Koch, Die Fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln /The early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/. Manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949.

829 /17 cont./

177 181 [184] the small islands, the strict observance of reserve imposed by the old customs must be taken into consideration.

[178] The "assured imperturbability" (2)

[113] 2. G. Forster in: Geschichte der See-Reisen und Entdeckungen im Sudmeer /History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas/. vol. V. Berlin 1780, p. 146.

unchanged since ancient times, and the great self-assurance (3)

[113] 3. For example, Annales de la Propagation de la foi /Annals of the spread of the faith/. vol. XVIII. Lyon 1845. p. 440.

of the Tongans seem all the more remarkable since these native farmers in their villages do not see their European counterpart, but only the city white man who, as a generally more clever person, intelligent and tougher, and usually with enough money, finds his way to the islands. Thus the Tongans know little of the unhappy European who has failed in his professional and economic life; in general they know nothing about the ragged and hungry human beings of the European slums. Rather, they see largely a selection of intelligent and capable urban Europeans and from these they automatically generalize about Europeans. A Tongan who thus never compares himself with the European farmer in non-industrial areas, knows anything about the extensive specialization in the West. The natives living on the small islands, most of whom today are still able themselves to fulfill all the tasks more or less easily that come up in their communities, from planting and fishing to house building, believe that the European can easily fabricate a ship or a plane, a bicycle or a flashlight. These Tongans regard the European as much more capable and superior than he actually is, and yet they have retained their old self-assurance.

Various reasons may account for that. Above all the considerable

/19 cont./

181 friendly and hospitable as were their ancestors (8)

[113) 8. See John Reinhold Forster, Observations made during a voyage round the world /cited in English/. London 1778. p. 235; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. Berlin 1778. p. 359; J. Cook, Beschreibung einer Entdeckungsreise in das stille Meer* /Description of an exploratory journey in the Pacific Ocean and up to the Northpole/ in Geschichte /History/ loc. cit. vol. VI. Berlin 1787. p. 277; J.T. Plant, Handbuch einer vollstandigen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte Polynesiens /Handbook of a complete geography and history of Polynesia/ vol. II. Leipzig and Gera 1799. p. 375; J. Martin., An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands /cited in English/ vol. I. London 1817. p. 70/71; idem., loc. cit. vol. II. London 1817. p. 166; S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands /cited in English/. London 1855. p. 150.

*und nach dem Nordpol hinauf

--aside from acts of considerable brutality in wartime. Life in the

181 574 431 [578) villages is always peaceful (9)

9. Although, as a result of the "liberation" of the commoners and their living together in villages, there is sometimes a certain rivalry between individual inhabitants who are ambitious and strive for influence, yet their general quiet-peaceful disposition seldom lets such tensions become visible and break out into open conflict.

(the last murder in Tonga occurred about 25 years ago), and on the small islands every Tongan can even still ask every village inhabitant for something he happens to need--be it a yam tuber or a

181 431 horse--and he gets it without a direct return service. Most Tongans are certainly not attached to material things, they can very easily give away and make presents and take pleasure in it. (10)

181 426 [434) 10. This may even involve larger objects. For example, in 1951 a young Tongan on Nomuka asked a fellow-villager for permission to harvest coconuts on the latter's plantation. This was granted him, and his copra production

[No p. 19 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/20 cont./

181 434 435 trouble getting twice the amount of tobacco for their money; in the Ha'apai group the Tongans who start businesses on their island "forget" the price of individual goods, which are then often sold for considerably less than on the main island.

181 177 439 Toward the European, too, the Tongan is good-natured, generous and hospitable; however, among the natives who have many dealings with Europeans there are a few who try to exploit and overcharge the Whites--usually in an inept manner, to be sure. Yet it seems noteworthy that the Tongans of the small islands, amid the flood of money of the postwar period and in view of their great interest in European goods, have not succumbed to copra- and money-fever. The reasons for this are less self-discipline and will power than the relatively small natural needs, as well as the basic Tongan trait of imperturbable equanimity.

181 These natives have also kept their cheerfulness--apparently undiminished. (13)

[113] 13. See also G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 359; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux. ed. by M. Rossel. vol. I. Paris 1808, p. 308/309; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States exploring expedition /cited in English/. vol. III. London 1845. p. 26; H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist /cited in English/. London 1879. p. 287.

181 522 The majority of Tonga have a strong sense of humor. Naturally, boys and girls are particularly cheerful and merry, even to the point of boisterousness. The older ones, while observing a certain self-control and restraint, are not much different, so that even in between the lamentations of a cortege a cheerful comment accompanied by a fleeting smile may by noted. Tongan humor often satisfies European [831] demands, frequently it is rather simple and silly for the serious White, and sometimes it leaves nothing to be desired in the way of

/21 cont./

181 685 and can not be compared to conditions in Europe. The natives of the small villages are mostly very honest, (19)

181 123 685 19. During the author's stay on the islands and on numerous boat trips not a single article was stolen from his numerous and often open pieces of luggage; three coins that he was unaware of having lost on a boat trip were immediately returned to him. This behavior of the natives is in sharp contrast to the old sources (for example, J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 278/279; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux, loc. cit. p. 307/308; E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien ···nebst einer allgemeinen Darstellung des grossen Ozeans /Australia and a general description of the Pacific/ vol. I part 2. Hamburg 1810. p. 636) which emphasize the tendency of Tongans to steal from Europeans. In early times the powerful chiefs were probably a driving force in these offences, also sometimes offered the thiefs protection, and the widespread lust for the new European articles was very great and not yet suppressed by the influence of mission and government authority.

181 685 though now and then there are complaints about thefts of pigs and plantation thefts. As a rule, these are the only property offences in some places.

181 831 The sensuality characteristic of Polynesians (together with rather free attitudes towards sexual questions) which early observers, sometimes with certain reservations, also attributed to the Tongans (20)

● (113) 20. For example, in A. Montanus, De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld /The new and unknown world/. Amsterdam 1671 p. 580; G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 344.

is even today, despite 130 years of intensive and largely puritanical mission work, an essential characteristic of Tongan nature. (21)

21. For details see the chapter Liebesleben /Love life/ p. 106 ff.

181 461 [171] /26 cont./

35. Psychological studies of work, however, show that similar tendencies also exist in Central Europe and are mostly suppressed as a result of differing circumstances.

There are, of course, some natives who cannot be called industrious even according to Tongan ideas, but must be regarded as lazy. They spend their days sleeping or chatting and they live more or less poorly from their overgrown, seldom visited plantings or on the supplies of their neighbors, friends or the rest of the villagers. Yet such types are not in the majority; they are felt to be exceptions in the community.

181 461 177 178 Since the Tongans even in the past were described by various observers partly as industrious, (36)

36. For example, Forster in: Geschichte... /History/. loc, cit. IV. p. 359, V. p. 152.

partly as inactive and lazy (37)

[113] 37. For example, Annales.../Annals/ loc. cit. XVIII. p. 423; W. Waldegrave, "Extracts from a private journal" /cited in English/ in: The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London. vol. III. London 1834. p. 194.

we may conclude that the attitude of these natives has not changed fundamentally, especially since decades of influence by missions and the government were unable to instill in them much of a "sense of dute." (38)

38. Typical for the lack of European "work discipline" of which the Tongan himself is often aware and which is based more on lack of ability than a lack of good will is the case of the quite capable Tongan physician A. When he was offered the management of the hospital in Nuku'alofa in the wake of the gradual replacement of European government workers with properly

/27 cont./

181 515 [356] In general, the Tongans have kept the cleanliness and love of order characteristic of the Polynesians. The huts inside usually look quite tidy and clean, and in personal grooming people are fairly conscientious. This has increased to a certain extent through teaching of hygiene in all schools, so that one scarcely meets a Tongan with long, black-bordered fingernails or toenails. However, on the

181 351 178 Tongan plantations orderliness often leaves much to be desired and the neatly plaited fences praised by earlier observers (41)

[113] 41. For example, J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 163; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 323/324; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific Ocean/cited in English/. London 1799. pp. 102, 245; Ch. Wilkes, loc. cit. p. 13.

are today to be found neither on the plantation (where at most a single barbed wire constitutes the fence) nor in the villages. (42)

42. Only a few villages have a (usually uncared-for) stockade-style fence (coconut palm trunks) to set off plantings.

[247] In the latter there is also not always painstaking order and cleanliness, and one seldom comes across a property owner who has planted flowers and ornamental bushes for beauty. (43)

[113] 43. Compare with this G. Forster, loc. cit. pp. 325, 340; J. Cook, Voyage dans l'Hemishpere Austral /Voyage in the southern hemisphere/ vol. II. Paris 1778. p. 68.

181 351 177 461 [356] Most of the wooden houses in need or repair are so neglected that they are practically falling apart. The untidiness of many plantations is usually due to the often rather long approach to them required by their owners and the proliferating weeds resulting from climate conditions, whereas the lack of orderliness in the villages may be regarded as a direct result of European influences which also brought

/36 cont./

142 J. R. Forster describes their figures as being "rather above than below
175 average size." (69)

[113] 69. Johann Reinhold Forsters Bemerkungen über Gegenstände der physischen Erdbeschreibung /Johann Reinhold Forster's observations on objects of physical geography/ translated by Georg Forster, Berlin 1783. p. 209; see also W. Ellis, An authentic narrative of a voyage, /cited in English/ vol. I. London 1782. p. 91: "...exactly proportioned...The men are in general above the middle size..." /cited in English/.

Cook describes the hair of the Tongans in one instance as "strong, thick and straight," (70)

70. J. Cook, Beschreibung... /Description/ loc, cit. VI. p. 279

another time as "very curly." (71)

71. In G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 325.

The Englishman who in general was a keen observer feels the wealth of types of this people even at that time when he writes: "Their features are very diverse, so that it is almost impossible to indicate their national physiognomy. A rather general trait is the roundness and fullness at the tip of the nose. However, we found hundreds of them with truly European faces and many genuine Roman noses." (72)

72. J. Cook, Beschreibung... /Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 274.

The "roundness and fullness at the tip of the nose" points--rather cautiously, to be sure--to the so often conspicuous, large Tongan nose. Cook also notices the various shades of skin color; (73)

73. Ibid., p. 274.

he indicates the average color as being "darker than copper brown," while G. Forster calls it "chestnut brown" (74)

74. G. Forster, loc, cit. V. p. 151.

/36 cont./

142 or "light chestnut brown." (75)
[175]

These old accounts show, in any case, that an extensive change
did not take place. However, we must take into account that
limited changes in the physical appearance of the Tongan did take
142 place. /37/ The average Tongan type (insofar as we may speak of
144 one) probably remained essentially the same, and the present wealth
of types, too, is in part original and can by no means be traced
back to European influences. The last 300 years, especially the past
decades, have, however, surely brought about a further differentiation.
European blood admixtures to the third and fourth degree (and less) are
numerically probably not low; for the association of European sailors
with Tongan women, from the period of discovery, was mostly very
considerable, (76)
and there is, for example, a rather sizeable group of natives who
know about their German grandfather or great-grandfather, although
the German trading colony in Tonga was never very numerous. If the
144 official reports (numerically not always very reliable) give a
563 relatively small number of half-castes (77)
we must not forget that these are half-castes of the first degree
(that is, with one Tongan parent and one non-Tongan parent). The
children of these half-castes--and Tongan families often have a high

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75. *Idem.*, *loc*, *cit*. IV. p. 326.

[842] 76. See, for example, A. Montanus, *loc. cit.* p. 580; G. Forster, *loc, cit.* IV. p. 344. To this day Tongan women have shown little interest in birth control.

[113] 77. For example, Colonial Office, *Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951* /cited in English/ London 1952. p. 6, gives 580 half-castes among 48,460 "pure blooded" Tongans for 1951.

/38 cont./

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144 For in this small island kingdom the non-fullblooded native exists by no means "between two worlds" because the number of whites is small and because he is adopted without opposition by the even-tempered Tongan community which, at most, will regard him as not bound to specific, more strict Tongan customs of old.

Diseases

164 The Tongan's resistance to various diseases is good, (79)

> 79. For example, these islanders seem less susceptible to typhoid than Europeans, and a white physician reported that among 120 cases of pneumonia he had only two deaths, whereas in the European area he regarded 20% as the rule.

but it is very slight with regard to many diseases, especially the imported ones. (80)

> 80. For example, colds, influenza, tuberculosis, eye diseases.

The chief diseases in Tonga are pulmonary tuberculosis, pneumonia, conjunctivitis, trachoma, filariasis, frambesia, typhoid. Probably very many Tongans suffer from pulmonary tuberculosis. Systematic examinations, especially on the main island, are shortly expected to produce greater clarity. Occasional influenza epidemics can become very serious, with a large number of deaths. (81) [731]

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> 81. For example, the slowly increasing population of Tonga that numbered 24,245 in 1917 dropped to 22,689 in 1919 (according to E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society" /cited in English/, B.P.B.M. Bulletin 61. Honolulu 1929. p. 6) as a result of the influenza epidemic of 1918; for the approximately 10,000 influenza cases of 1950, however, only three deaths were reported (Report of the Medical Department for the Year 1950. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 8).

/42 cont./

278 178 old Tongan medicines and methods of treatment still hold their own more or less successfully in most families, and there are even Tongan doctors who apply them when pills fail. [759] Whereas a few of the simpler herbal medicines are familiar to many Tongans and can be easily prepared if necessary, most of the remedies are known only to certain "experts" (male as well as female) who have inherited their knowledge and whom people like to consult for advice and help.

757 As examples of surviving Tongan cures we mention the following treatments. (95)

95. From Sione Matoto on Nomuka, 1952.

Some of these have lost their ancient links with the belief in spirits and magic, (96)

[113] 96. Cf. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 240ff; E.E.V. Collocott, "Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga" /cited in English/ in Polynesian Sociological Journal, vol. XXXII, no. 3. 1923. pp. 136-142.

and are regarded simply as useful medicines, especially by younger and middle-aged natives.

1. Headache. Take six leaves of the tutu'uli and tear each leaf in half. Either the left or the right halves are used, depending on the side of the head that pains the patient. These halves, wrapped in a clean white piece of tapa are chewed and then squeezed out on the patient's eyes and nose so that the liquid runs into both eyes and nostrils. If the diagnosis has been correct, the patient will feel better in a few minutes.

2. Headache (recurring, but only at specific hours of the day). [826] The man (or woman) administering the treatment uses the sole of his or her left or right foot, corresponding to the aching side of the patient's head, and with it very gently touches the affected part. Then the head of the patient is massaged with uhi leaves (Evodia

/44 cont./

515 equipment. In times of drought (often October to December) the
[132] supply of rain water is sometimes so scarce that people
temporarily forego the daily thorough bathing.

515 /45/ Although in the schools, in the subject of hygiene, there
302 is general instruction in tooth brushing, and European toothbrushes
are easily obtainable, only very few Tongans have so far used them.
However, fingernails and toenails are cut quite short so that there
is almost no rim and the nail surface is often circular. Nails
[412] are mostly cut with the large bush knife. Ancient Tongan cutting
[178] tools (shells, bamboo) are no longer used. For shaving, the two
302 shells, the pumice and the shark's tooth (100)
177 have long since been replaced by razor blades which can be bought on
most of the islands. However, not all Tongans own a safety razor.
Many shave simply with the blade held in their hand, which is more
a scraping than a cutting, and is reminiscent of the pumice stone.
Even in the smallest village a great many natives are generally
neatly shaved, some have a stubble varying in length (101)
302 and a few wear more or less well cared-for full beards. This state
565 of affairs seems in general to resemble the pre-European era, though
the commoners in olden times probably groomed themselves less carefully than the nobles. (102)

(113) 100. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J.J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage a la recherche de La Perouse /Account of the voyage in search of La Perouse/ vol. II. Paris 1800. p/120; E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien /Australia/. loc. cit. vol. I, part 2. p. 640; J. Martin, An account... /cited in English/. loc. cit. II. p. 282.

101. On Sundays, however, even the latter are almost always smoothly shaved.

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113 102. Cf. W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/. loc. cit. I p. 92; if the

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[113] statement of Meinicke (C.E. Meinicke, Die Inseln des Stillen Ozeans /The islands of the Pacific/, part II. Leipzig 1876. p. 75) is correct, there was a common beard style in Tonga in the second half of the 19th century, probably in imitation of the European example.

As a result of the presence of American troops on the main island, the short moustache became popular among many younger, eagerly imitative Tongans, but now it gradually seems to be "going out of fashion."

Although European perfumes and scented skin creams are today available on almost all islands of the Archipelago, and younger Tongan women in particular like to buy them, the ancient Tongan fragrant oil (lolo Tonga) is still laboriously prepared in all villages and is extensively used by almost all natives of both sexes. This Tongan oil has been able to maintain its place (103) thus well because, aside from the work involved, it costs nothing compared with the relatively expensive European products, and secondly, because Tongan noses are probably much too accustomed to the typical scent of the lolo Tonga which pervades the atmosphere [565] of humans and dwellings. Nobles and commoners alike use it, and it may be assumed that production and use have even increased compared with the past. (104)

103. Cf. J. Cood, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 281; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/ loc. cit. II. p. 93; J. Martin, An account.../cited in English/. loc. cit. II p. 346; S.S. Farmer, Tonga... loc. cit. p. 143.

104. Cf. J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 281.

303 /46/ We give here the process of production of Tongan oil:

The inner part of the tui tui (fruit of Aleurites moluccana [L.] Willd.) and the (fragrant) leaves (or blossoms) of the shrubs moengalo (Melastoma denticulatum), nukonuka (Decaspermum fruticosum),

/47 cont./

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107. E.W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/ loc. cit. p. 205.

[565] [184] are no longer seen, and even the nobles do not differ from the common people in their hair style.

[177] People cut each other's hair using a comb (European plastic comb) and scissors. Many natives, without special training, are so adept at this that they achieve a perfect cut even outdoors in a stiff breeze. (108)

108. There are even Tongans who cut their own hair in front of a mirror!

[237] [178] The old Tongan custom of treating the hair with coral lime (lahe)(109)

109. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 279; burnt coral lime mixed with water.

was still generally practiced at the end of the last century, (110)

(113)

110. For example, B.F.S. Baden-Powell, In savage isles and settled lands /cited in English/. London 1892. p. 319.

but has become so "unfashionable" today that one seldom meets an aged [177] native who limes his hair. Instead, Tongan oil is commonly used, occasionally also European pomade.

302 178 As in olden times, young people's hair is cut shorter than that of adults; often, as a matter of expediency, it is entirely cut off. However, "shaving" the head, (111)

(113)

111. J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI. p. 181; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 282; O.W. Brierly, "Brief geographical sketch of the Friendly Islands" /cited in English/, in: The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London. vol. XXII. London 1852. p. 102.

or letting individual tufts of hair stand, (112)

112. G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 325.

/50 cont./

292 Commoners wear the ta'o-vala when they appear before chiefs, just
[565] as the latter don their ta'o-vala when they have dealings with the
people. Even the most "modern" Tongan who wears trousers as a
[178] matter of principle, changes into a vala and ta'o-vala for a fono,
for instance. With the ta'o-vala he shows his respect toward
authorities, (125)

[113] 125. This ancient custom is already noted in: Geschichte der christlichen Missionen auf den Freundschafts- oder Tonga-Inseln /History of the Christian missions on the Friendly or Tonga Islands/. Bremen. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1857. p. 173.

and it is commonly considered bad taste to wear the ta'o-vala over
292 trousers. Crown Prince and Premier Tungi, who studied in Australia
177 and visited London, sets a good example by wearing the vala and
ta'o-vala day after day, and recommends this attire to all administrative employees. Some Tongans "who take pride in their appearance" --in the seaports as well as on the small islands--wear a tie and a European lounge jacket for church on Sunday, along with the customary attire (shirt, vala, ta'o-vala).

291 In contrast to olden times, therefore, nobles as well as commoners
292 wear the same type of clothing. The elegant and valuable mats have
184 even come down to the domain of the people, since many commoners use
565 them as ta'o-vala. Some of the commoners own more and better clothing
than the nobles living on the same islands. (126)

[434] 126. For example, the nopele ("highest ranking chief" see p. 95 of text. FS) T. told the author that he could no longer keep step with this development, and that he owns only a few shirts (T. lives on rather small rents from his landed property and on /the yield from/ his plantings, whereas some Tongan of the younger generation are engaged in copra production and, as commoners, are economically the stronger ones).

/57 cont./

301 178 237 824 hollow bird bones and shark's teeth, as well as chest ornaments of mother-of-pearl shells, upper-arm circlets of the same material and bracelets of tortoise shell; in pierced earlobes bits of tortoise shell, small rods of bone or reed were worn. (147)

(113) 147. Cf. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 281; G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 327; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe /Voyage of the corvette L'Astrolabe/ ...Histoire de Voyage /Story of the voyage/. vol. IV. Paris 1832. p. 285; while Cook says that this adornment is worn by both sexes, Forster allots it to the men and the rest of the ornaments to the women.

Almost all this belongs to the distant past, and of course one no longer sees the chieftain's headdress made of tail feathers of the tropic bird and of red parrot feathers, (148)

148. J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 186.

nor the exquisitely plaited coconut fiber belts decorated with red feathers, (149)

149. An old dance dress of Tongan women (G. Forster, loc. cit. pp. 337- 342.

and women's side combs artistically fashioned of small rods and coconut fiber. (150)

150. G. Forster, loc. cit. p. 328.

301 565 237 The old sources do not indicate how this adornment was distributed among the various classes. However, it may surely be assumed that at least the mother-of-pearl chest ornament was worn by the privileged noble, (151)

[113) 151. Cf. M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, Voyage de la Perouse autour du monde /Voyage of the Perouse around the world/. vol. I. Paris 1797. p. 301.

who was also the only one privileged to wear the neck ornament carved out of whale's teeth (152)

301 /57 cont./

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(113)

152. Cf. J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 311 ff; H. Plischke, "Ein Brustschmuck von Tonga-tabu und die Verarbeitung von Walknochen in Polynesien" /A chest ornament from Tonga-tabu and how whalebone is worked in Polynesia/ in Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Fachgruppe II, Mittelalter /?/ und Neue Geschichte. New series. vol. II no. 7. 1939. p. 137.

and the large feather-headdress. (153)

153. Compare J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

301 The causes for the disappearance of this ornament are probably to
177 be sought in the general deterioration of the old crafts which in
178 Tonga (as on the other islands /58/ of Polynesia) began with the
797 import of European goods and tools, as well as in the attitude of the puritanical missionaries who were surely not favorably disposed toward adornment.

301 Nowadays Tongans prefer perishable plant adornment. The neck-
824 laces (kakala) of blossoms, leaves and seed capsules familiar since
(178) ancient times and already mentioned by Cook, (154)

154. J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 281.

Ellis, (155)

155. W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/. loc. cit. p. 94.

and Dumont d'Urville, (156)

156. J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la Corvette L'Astrolabe.../Voyage of the corvette L'Astrolabe/. loc, cit. IV. p. 285.

are worn by young men, girls (also women) and children on many occasions. (157)

157. For example, at festivals, cooperative work

/74 cont./

839 the plantings. As in olden times, (210)

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[178]

210. Rape in ancient Tonga was not regarded as a crime if women were not married or not of higher rank than that perpetrator (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 107, 167); perhaps rape, for which Mariner mentions young chiefs in particular, became more frequent among commoners after their "liberation."

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it is often not regarded as a crime. However, if such a deed is not forgiven by the girl who was attacked and if, subsequently, in the family counsel it is not "equalized" with some recompense, there follows a legal hearing (as a result of a charge by the raped girl) and the perpetrator must expect a term of imprisonment. On Nomuka, for example, from July 1951 to January 1952, there were four charges of rape in which eight young Tongans were involved. Most of them took their jail sentences calmly, knowing that they "had achieved 848 their goal." Although no one tries to prevent pregnancy, the number of illegitimate births is not as high as one might expect. For example, in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants) in April 1952, among 128 children only 12 were illegitimate, born to six unmarried girls. (211)

[113]

211. This is probably only slightly above the present average in Germany. For the entire Archipelago 9.89 per cent and 11.20 percent were the figures officially given for 1950 and 1949 respectively. (Report of the Department of Justice, for the Year 1950/ cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 3.)

[842]
[833]

The natives explain this disproportion by saying that very frequent intercourse is required to produce a child. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her parents are at first annoyed and probably reproach her bitterly. But the girl is often happy about the expected child, frequently sees in it a help in years to come, and will still be quite able to find a husband. However, girls who are unpopular

/81 cont./

844 *ma'uli* (the Tongan midwife). Her mother and her sister are also fetched if they can be reached. --The newborn child is washed and rubbed with Tongan oil (*lolo Tonga*). /82/ Rubbing with turmeric
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178 (kurkuma) (235) is apparently no longer practiced, neither in the case of the child nor the mother. The old custom of burying the umbilical cord is, however, still widespread it is, of course, omitted in hospital births. The umbilical cord, after it is cut off, is wrapped in a piece of tapa or feta'aki (raw tapa) (also possibly in a piece of European cloth) and buried near the house by the father, in a hole approximately 3/4 to $1^{1}/2$ meters deep. In order to mark the spot, it is buried under a tree, for example, or else a stone is placed on the spot, or a flower or a sapling are planted on it. Even in a village like Fungamisi, the settlement bordering the seaport Neiafu, this custom is still commonly observed. Many people forget the place where their children's umbilical cords are buried, while, on the other hand, very modern and progressive Tongans keep careful track of the spots.

553 If the child's father is present, the child is given a name on the day of its birth. If the father happens to be on a trip to another island, his return is awaited. According to the old [604] custom, the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) names the child (chooses its name). The father himself can also give the name, but not the mother of the child.

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574 Birth was and is, in general, not connected with special

● [113] 235. Compare J. Wilson, *Missions-Reise in das sudliche stille Meer /Mission journey to the South Pacific/*, translated from English by D. Canzler. Berlin. 1800. page 396; J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 273; E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*. p. 185.

/83 cont./

851 followed by a small celebration.

527 852 The Tongans pay little attention to birthdays. Only the completed first year of a child is generally celebrated. The father's contribution to the festival is a well-filled earth oven (with pig[s], yams, taro, sweet potatoes, kape, manioc pudding, etc.), but the mother's relatives also generally contribute food (for example, a roast pig, a /84/ rich-cream cake, European-style), and there is an exchange of mat and tapa gifts. The celebration usually starts with a hymn and a prayer (this among the Wesleyans is often spoken by the pastor), then follows the feast at which 20 or 30 relatives and friends take part and at which the mother with her one-year-old child is given the place of honor. After the meal, the group breaks up.

527 852 177 [805] This festival marking the completion of the first year of life, which is celebrated by commoners as well as chiefs, is, at least as far as the date is concerned, a European-influenced arrangement, for in ancient Tonga an accurate calendar was unknown and birthdays could not be determined. The prayer and the presence of a pastor also show European influence.

165 163 Infant mortality is average. For example, of the 25 children born on the small island of Nomuka in the course of a year, four died. Today, in general, the number of births by far surpasses the deaths in the total population. (238)

[113] 238. In 1950, for example, 1798 births and 501 deaths were registered in Tonga (Report of the Department of Justice for the Year 1950 /cited in English., Nuku'alofa 1951. pp. 3/4).

[161] Since Tongans in the past very probably never numbered more than 25,000 persons, (239)

239. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 4; W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 4.

/84 cont./

165 163 161 and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240) we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past. [744) Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga [842] in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to interpret this change.

844 178 177 In general, we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although growing European influences must be reported. These may also be seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

Death

761 177 178 The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

763 343 For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build, as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241) a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death. This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also

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(113) 240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in English/. London 1950. p. 5).

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

/93 cont./

> 361 remote from their corresponding villages.
> 178 Here, for a few days, weeks or months (sometimes also years) live those men (seldom with their families) who wish to devote themselves intensively to their remote plantations, who give up the social life of the village and take the trouble to go the long distance to church. This is a development, though not a significant one, since it is very limited.

[565] Only Mu'a on Tongatapu was already at that time probably a village-like settlement of various chiefs. (268)

> 268. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 7; J. Wilson, *A missionary voyage*.../cited in English/ p. 285.

361 During the civil wars (1797-1852) the people of most of the islands
669 sought refuge in fortified places and soon became accustomed to living
178 together in townlike settlements, especially since, after the Christiani-
[712] zation of the Archipelago (1826-1852), this made frequent church-going
[177] much easier. In the beginning, these newly formed villages /94/ seem
to have been rather well kept. (269)

> [113] 269. Compare J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage pittoresque*... *loc. cit.* II. p. 78; the same, *Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Oceanie*...*Histoire du Voyage* /Voyage to the South Pole and Oceania...Account of the voyage/. vol. IV. Paris 1842. pp. 138, 153, 352; Th. West, *Ten years in South-Central Polynesia*... /cited in English/ London 1865. p. 44.

361 Their deterioration set in during the growing European influences which
177 very much decreased the natives' interest in various tasks once carefully
182 and intensively carried out, and which, of course, also caused various
Tongan crafts to die out or become crude.

However, this deterioration of the settlements is only external.
621 The feeling of solidarity, the community consciousness of the Tongans
186 seems as strong as in old times. It may even have grown as a result

527 /99 cont./

177 (621) return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players
(533) go about in the same way.

(431) It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion
794 has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village.
177 It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the
182 population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover,
(533) the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs (each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan churches has become important in the community life of many villages, for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and women.

527 Whereas the festivals mentioned (*kautaha-show*, *faka-afe*), the
574 church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the
182 village population (through membership or by special invitation), the
621 old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male Tongan.

276 In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other islands of the South Seas. (273)

273. See J. Cook, *Beschreibung*...VI. p. 224; Johann Reinhold Forster's *Bemerkungen*... /Comments/ p. 416.

(797) Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives
(178) in this custom, (274)

(113) 274. See J.E. Erskine, *Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific*... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and
(171) perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

/107 cont./

642 643 175 powerful and godlike Tu'i Tonga whose succession began around 950 A.D. with the legendary 'Aho'eitu. (298)

298. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 49 ff.

Around 1470, the 24th Tu'i Tonga granted one of his brothers important powers, resulting in the new line of Tu'i /108/ Ha'atakalaua. The Tu'i Tonga remained the supreme ruler, but it was inevitable that now his power gradually decreased. Around 1600 the sixth Tu'i Ha'atakalaua transferred several of his offices to one of his sons who therewith began the second lateral line of the Tu'i Tonga with the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. The power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu increased very (669) much in the next two centuries. In 1799, during a revolt of the powerful chiefs, the ruling Tu'i Kanokupolu Tuku'aho was assassinated, and there followed many years of civil-warlike disorders in the Archipelago.

643 797 [113] Beginning in 1820, the capable and warlike chief Taufa'ahau of Ha'apai achieved increasing power. (299)

299. See A.H. Wood, History and geography of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 43 ff.

In 1834 he was christened George (Siaosi) by the Wesleyan missionaries. After futile attempts of the London Mission Society (1797-1800) and of their own church (1822-1823), the Wesleyans began once more missionary activity on the Tonga Islands in the year 1826, this time with increasing success. It seems the missionaries recognized early the valuable assistance that Taufa'ahau (George) was able to give them, and the latter likewise felt cooperation with the missionaries useful. In 1845 Taufa'ahau (the grandson of Tuku'aho and son of the next-to-the-last Tu'i Kanokupolu Tupouto'a) was elected Tu'i Kanokupolu (George Tupou I). However, the Tongan chiefs, as a result of old disputes that were further compounded by influences of different missions, (300)

300. Beginning in 1842 the Catholic mission also

/108 cont./

643 worked on Tongatapu.

797 were far from united and peaceful. The last war on Tongatapu did not end until 1852, and George I was now ruler of a reunited and Christianized state of all the Tonga Islands.

643 554 In a parliamentary speech in the year 1875 George stated that the chiefs had transferred to him the status of Tu'i Tonga (301) and of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and that he had decided to grant new titles to two chiefs who by inheritance would have been entitled to these, giving the first /chief/ the title of Kalaniuvala and the second the title of Tungi. 643 George Tupou I died in 1893 at the age of 96. His grandson mounted the throne as George Tupou II and reigned until 1918. He died that year and his daughter became Queen Charlotte (Salote) Tupou. In her son, Tuni, the present Crown Prince, the three ancient sovereign lines of Tonga are united inasmuch as his mother embodies the line of the Tu'i Kanokupolu and the status of the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, and his father (the deceased prince consort Tungi) was of Tu'i Ha'atakalaua blood.

643 641 642 797 /109/ George I had already in 1835 declared his subjects on Lifuka (Ha'apai) free, at the advice of the missionaries. (302) The laws which he enacted under missionary influence, in 1839 (303) and 1850, were followed by the Constitution of 1862 according to which all Tongans, chiefs as well as commoners, were to be equal before the law. 641 642 646 The people were given freedom and complete control over their property, and a parliament consisting of chiefs and representatives

(113)

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301. The last (powerless) Tu'i Tonga died in 1865.

302. See A.H. Wood, loc. cit. p. 56.

303. S.S. Farmer, Tonga and the Friendly Islands /cited in English/. p. 264 ff.; Th. West, Ten Years in South Central Polynesia /cited in English/. p. 164.

/110 cont./

648 jurisdiction over foreigners.

642 The constitution, which was strange to Tongans and also somewhat
648 complicated, was apparently rather arbitrarily administered by the
643 King and his personal advisers in the following years; especially the distribution of lands and the financial system apparently fell into disorder. In any case, in 1905 the British High Commisioner for the West Pacific (Sir Everard im Thurn) gave the Tongan King the choice between signing a supplementary agreement or having Tonga annexed and himself deposed. The King chose the supplementary agreement, according to which Tonga, among other things, henceforth granted the British agent and consul the right to control her fiscal system and /agreed that/ no Europeans were to be accepted into government service without the consul's consent.

648 Tonga then adhered to these treaties to which no further special agreements were added. It was henceforth tied to Great Britain in matters of foreign policy, but this did not create any too serious consequences for the country. In the two World Wars Tonga rendered its contribution to the Allied cause: in the First World War a number of Tongans entered /111/ the New Zealand army, and rather large sums were raised for "patriotic" purposes. In the Second World War
[702] Tongatapu served as the Anglo-American base, while 4700 Tongans were militarily trained and considerable sums were raised as defense contribution. (306)

● [113] 306. See: Colonial Office, Annual Report on Tonga for the Year 1946. London 1948. p. 4; The Pacific Islands Yearbook 1950 /both titles cited in English/. Sydney and Suva 1950. p. 123.

642 Aside from the rights of Great Britain stipulated in the treaties, the internal administration of Tonga remained in the hands of the Tongan government, which today consists of the (constitutional) sovereign

/119 cont./

423} amounts to more than 200 individuals per square mile. The greatest
[161) density is in the Ha'apai Islands. There, for example, if there
[428) are three sons in a family, one of them (generally the oldest)
usually inherits, after the death of his parents, the api'uta of his
father (in addition to his api kolo) and the other two will often no
longer be able to receive an api'uta of their own if they apply for
[161] it. The Tongan population has grown very much in comparison with the
past, and there is sufficient land available only on the large
inhabited islands or on some uninhabited ones. (329)

[425] 329. In 1950, according to government documents, of the 188,975 acres available for distribution, only 78,345 had been given
[427) out (as api'uta to 8647 taxpayers and as lease lands to foreigners and Tongans).
(113) The remaining 110,630 acres were still available (minus the village and urban areas) (see Report of the Minister of Lands for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 1).

These two sons can get their own api'uta of 8^1/4 acres on Tongatapu or 'Eua, for example. But usually people prefer to remain on their home island. (330)

[162) 330. On the island of Nomuka, for example, among a total population of 567 souls, there are
[425) 69 men who have a right to an api'uta, but are unable to get it because all the land has been distributed; they are staying on Nomuka even though they would be able to receive their api'uta on Tongatapu, for example. While all land claims must still be provided for within the Archipelago, 4307 taxpayers in 1950 did not take over an api'uta for the aforementioned reasons (see Report of the Minister of Lands for the Year 1950. p. 2).

People are attached to their islands and their kinsmen, and they may
[425] also dislike to clear virgin land. Thus they stay in their villages,
[241)

/124 cont./

000 police and the (British) superintendent of police /cited in English/.
697 The minister of police also supervises the prisons erected in Nuku'
[645] alofa, on Lifuka, Vava'u and Niua Toputapu. The prisoners must
work and are engaged in road-building, plantation work and copra
production. For diligence and good behavior they may obtain a
release of up to one-fourth of their prison term.

674 Serious crimes seldom occur in Tonga. The last murder was
committed in 1927. The most frequent offenses on the small islands
are probably plantation thefts, minor frauds, as well as rape.
674 According to a report of the Tonga justice department for 1950, 16
692 penal cases were tried in the supreme court and 3720 in the magistrates'
673 courts. (342)
They related chiefly to traffic violations, violent threats and insults, brawls, cruelty to animals, adultery and property offenses. In the same year the magistrates' courts tried 5361 revenue offenses (non-payment of poll tax and horse tax) and 1673 civil cases.

692 Although the judiciary is comparatively very active, the cases
that actually occur are by no means all handled in court. Since
692 many of the small islands still do not have policemen and these seem
621 in many cases to act more "on request" than on their own initiative,
627 some punishable acts never come to the attention of the authorities,
[625] especially because the unity within the village community is often
so great that the parties (that is, the family of the guilty one and
the family of the injured one) come together, as in old times, discuss
627 the matter and reach an agreement. The party of the guilty one will
offer, for example, the return of the stolen property or payment
thereof, or some other kind of compensation, and the injured ones will

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[113] 342. See Report of the Department of Justice for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. pp. 1-2.

/126 cont./

342 (113) 346. On the subject of ancient Tongan house building: J. Cook, Voyage dans l'Hemisphere Austral.../Voyage in the southern hemisphere/. II. p. 68; the same, Beschreibung.../description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 285; G. Forster, loc. cit. V. p. 139; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/. I. p. 95; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279 ff.; J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque /Picturesque voyage/... II. p. 78; Tischner, Die Verbreitung der Hausformen in Ozeanien /The dissemination of house forms in Oceania/. Dissertation. Hamburg 1934. pp. 93/94, 139, 177.

and traditions give us no comprehensive insight into the ancient Tongan dwelling. However, we know that it was a long house with rounded narrow sides. The average house of a chief was approximately 30 feet long and 20 feet wide. (347)

347. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 285.

342 335 Four (or six to ten) posts were connected with a longitudinal beam on which rested four (six) crossbeams which, with their projecting ends, supported a ridge roof /127/ that was additionally held up by special supports on the framework. Nails and mortise were unknown. [284] [824] The beams were lashed together with cords of coconut fiber; these were of different colors (natural-colored, black, red and yellow), and the individual, careful lashings represented "geometric" patterns. 342 824 The roof at the top was about 12 feet high and extended to about four feet beyond the floor. It was covered with sugarcane leaves or--more simply--with coconut leaves. These were plaited together like mats and were fastened like tiles to the rafters. The ancient 342 Tongan dwelling very probably had no walls. As a protection against rain, wind, or lower temperatures, the better houses had curtains of mats fastened together, which could be lowered, while in the simpler houses people made do with mats which they hung up. (348)

/127 cont./

342 [113]

> 348. The illustrations in Tasman's Journal (Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal of his discovery... /cited in English/ Amsterdam 1898; the pictures following the 23rd and 25th January 1643) show houses which do not seem to be storage huts and have (apparently plaited reed) walls which are interrupted only by door openings. These illustrations are in contrast to the data in the rest of the sources (mentioned above).

342 The inside of the dwelling was generally one large room. The floor,
352 which was raised about a foot, was beaten hard and covered with
[824] dried leaves and grasses on which lay coconut palm leaves. Strong
mats plaited of reed and curved semicircularly were set up inside
342 the room to divide it up. The dwellings of commoners (on the plan-
565 tations) were of the same construction, but most probably smaller
184 and simpler (for example, always covered with coconut palm leaves and
without the lowerable mat curtains). Besides the dwellings, there were
344 also rather large meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs, storage
343 houses (with walls that slanted inward toward the floor), cook huts,
and boat houses.

342 In ancient Tonga, house construction had a certain uniformity,
178 with each house built for a special purpose corresponding in its
basic elements to every other one that served the same purpose, whereas
today, as a result of the aforementioned changes, there is a
[177] diversity of types to be seen. Dwellings may be subdivided chiefly
into the ancient Tonga form (long house with rounded, narrow sides)
and the types resembling European construction (rectangular or also
square houses that often have a veranda). Different kinds of building
material result in a number of further variations. These, as well as
the proportion of the different types, may be seen in the following
survey conducted in six villages of the Archipelago.

/169 cont./

231 According to these figures, pigs and chickens, the domestic
184 animals of ancient Tonga, occur most frequently in 'Uiha and Fungamisi.
The difference with respect to the rest of the domestic animals is
more striking in 'Uiha than in Fungamisi. In the latter village, its
231 184 nearness to the seaport of Neiafu is a factor; the natives probably
432 feel it is more profitable to use their coconuts for copra production
(245) (the copra receiving station of the government is not far from the
village) than to breed pigs more extensively, especially since the
latter can be replaced by corned beef and salted meat which is easily
obtainable in Neiafu. The cattle raised in Fungamisi can be profitably
sold to merchants in Neiafu.

231 In general, there is no intensive animal husbandry in Tonga, such
as the European is accustomed to. Stalls and fenced-in areas are
(272) (262) practically unknown. /170/ Milk, eggs and manure are not used. The
(237) following survey may give an idea of animal husbandry in Tonga:

Pig:

231 This domestic animal of ancient Tonga no longer exists in its
136 original form. Sailors, missionaries, other whites living in Tonga,
as well as members of the Tongan government have, in the course of
time, brought a number of pigs of various strains to Tonga. This
seems to have improved the old Tongan breed of pig which was
probably smaller. A clear racial identification is no longer
possible because of the various crossbreeds.

231 Pork is by no means a daily food; the natives usually slaughter
262 the animals only for festivals and other special occasions (for
574 example, a visit of a member of the royal family), just as was
customary among commoners in the past. (450)

●(113) 450. See W. Waldegrave, Extracts from a private journal.../cited in English/ p. 187.

/233 cont./

501 178 612. Today also with cotton or cement.

and of which only a very few exist in the Archipelago, will probably soon share the fate of kalai which disappeared seven decades ago.

501 A tafa'anga boat observed on Nomula Iki in December 1951 was built there that same year by a Tongan (from Niua Toputapu) and was used for short trips between Nomuka and Nomuka Iki. [824] The keel was made of wood of the ifi tree (Inocarpus fagiferus [Park.] Fosb), the planks and the float were made of fau wood (Hibiscua tiliaceus), the outrigger poles could not be definitely determined, and the connecting timbers (four) between the three outrigger poles and the float were made of toa wood (Casuarina equisetifolia L.) . [284] There were holes bored in the planks which were held together with coconut-fiber lashings. Old tapa served as caulking. Two seat boards were nailed on fore and aft. The body of the boat had a coat of crimson oil paint to protect it against sea water. Two paddles propelled the boat.

501 177 178 Aside from the European additions (nails in the seat boards and oil paint) this boat in its rather crude form seemed unchanged from its ancient Tongan model, which had polish-like smoothness and was ornamented, (613)

[113] 613. See G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 347; Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise... /Diary of a voyage of discovery/ translated by J. R. Forster, Berlin 1781. p. 93.

and used for bonito fishing, no longer practiced today. (614)

614. See Th. West, Ten years...p.146.

501 The popao, namely the simple (and unadorned) dugout outrigger boats, are the universal craft used for short-distance trips. They usually take on one or two persons and are propelled with wooden paddles (having an oval or pointed-oval blade) or with improvised, trimmed coconut-palm-leaf stems. Sometimes the natives also use a

/246 cont./

772 world consisted of two fundamental types: (650)

[113] 650. H. Nevermann, Gotter der Sudsee /Gods of the South Seas/. Stuttgart 1947. p. 75.

the high (that is, the gods, the Mana (651),

[778] 651. "The essence that is extraordinarily effective" (that results in courage, bravery, talent, luck and physical strength in above-average measure) (ibid., p. 39).

the nobles, light and day, life and so on) and the low (that is, the commoners, darkness and night, everything that destroys, death and so on).

828 774 775 People believed that a human being consisted of three parts: the body and vital energy (both of which were perishable) as well as the phantom-being that separates itself from the body after death and goes on living independently. (652)

562. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. pp. 39/40.

[565] The Tongans, however, qualified this by saying that only nobles possessed such phantom-beings whereas for commoners there was no life after death. (653)

653. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 121, 136.

565 775 772 Thus, according to the popular belief, only the deceased nobles lived in that world beyond, which was never seen by human beings, which lay in the distant northwest and was called pulotu; there the phantom-beings of chiefs and the matapule serving them enjoyed an existance which, in accordance with their particular rank, was similar to their past earthly one, but was easier and more pleasant--quite simply, godlike. (654)

654. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 105, 108, 135.

775 787 There, the phantom-beings of chiefs were endowed with godlike power and were able to return to Tonga and appear to priests, to their

[No p. 371 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

526 /269 cont./

Cambridge 1829. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, Voyage de La Perouse.../Voyage of the Perouse/ I. p. 293; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

and boxing matches of men and women (fuhu). (740)

740. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 169/170; J. Sparks, loc. cit. pp. 52/53; M.L.A. Milet-Mureau, loc. cit. I. p. 294; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 42.

A few children's games have also been handed down to us. (741)

[113] 741. See J. D. Whitcombe, "Notes on Tongan Ethnclogy." /cited in English/ B.P.B.M. Occ. Papers. vol. IX no. 9. 1930. pp. 7/8.

In the kamotu'u boys' game one of the boys standing in the center of the circle had to guess who touched him while he had his eyes closed. In the ngali ngali a toke, a boy had to catch one of a row of boys running in a circle. In the touhuhu game the boys had to try to spear with sticks a grapefruit turned on a pole. The boys also occupied themselves with a catapult (tafau), with small bows and arrows and a slingshot (makata) made of tapa or hibiscus bast. Old women played "scare and chase" with small girls by throwing tapa over themselves. Boys and girls tried to "flip" /"dipsen" is evidently a colloquial or dialect expression, and I'm not sure of the meaning. F.S./ pieces of hibiscus wood over a mat set upright (fisi-game)

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The games mentioned do not include all, but probably some of the most important activities carried out in ancient Tonga for amusement and diversion. The interest in individual games varied, and the fact that a hunting game such as pigeon catching was already "out of fashion" in 1800 (742)

742. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 341.

leads one to conclude that the number and kinds of games sometimes changed in the course of the centuries-old, autonomous development of Tongan culture.

/275 cont./

772 771 177 212 538 and to which school-knowledge of these natives is still to a large extent subordinated--in accordance with the wishes of the early missionaries; even the art of reading, for the majority of present-day Tongans is--as it was more than a century ago--almost exclusively meant for bible study and the reading of other church literature, since there is still no secular literature in the Tongan language.

871 872 The Tongan school system has constantly expended and increased. Today there is compulsory education for all children between the ages of six and fourteen, with free school attendance. In 1950 (752)

(113) 752. See Report of the Department of Education for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p.1.

there were 134 elementary schools on the Islands; 70 of them were run by the government, 35 by the Free Wesleyan Church, 21 by the Roman Catholic Church, four by the Adventists, two by the Free Church (Wesleyan), one by the Anglican Church and one by the Mormons. In them 335 teachers taught 10,626 boys and girls. (753)

753. Ibid. p. 1.

/276/ These schools, like the English elementary schools, teach basic knowledge; some subjects are adapted to specific Tongan needs. Teaching includes: arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions), English (reading, spelling, translation, dictation, grammar, composition, letter-writing), Tongan language (reading, dictation, composition), hygiene (and first aid), geography (the Tonga-Archipelago and the Pacific), history (especially of Tonga), nature study (plants and animals), music (singing, scales), penmanship, drawing, gymnastics, agriculture (once a week plantation work), (sewing) and Tongan handcraft (plaiting, making tapa printing plates, woodwork such as boat models and paddles, etc.). The schools organized (794) by the churches also give religious instruction. Teaching is done in

/330 cont./

177 The reasons for these similar developments are largely those that were mentioned in connection with the change of Tongan culture.

177 121 The question as to what extent they express some firm laws of acculturation among primitive peoples can be answered only on the basis of a large number of further, similar investigations. And even a subsequent, perhaps successful establishment of such "laws of acculturation" would always need to be subject to the qualification that a multitude of unforeseeable imponderables could lead the development in an entirely different direction than that established theoretically, for example, one can scarcely, with the help of such a "lawful principle," explain why the Tongans have largely given up their ancient house style whereas the Samoans--under quite similar conditions--have kept theirs to such a great extent.

177 178 181 One conclusion from these comparisons that seems significant is the fact that the bearers of this culture, the human beings themselves, have thus far scarcely changed inwardly as a result of European influences. They have the money of the whites--but have not taken on the latter's interest in money; they have become Christians--but scarcely discard their old attitudes toward sex; and the fact that the four primitive peoples compared here still show a rather conservative approach coupled with a decided self-assurance in many areas of their cultural life may be one of the important reasons why these peoples and their cultures have not declined but have preserved a large measure of their old way of life throughout turbulent times.

177 171 181 (113) The conservative trait observed among other primitive peoples, as has been emphasized elsewhere, (61)

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61. R. Linton, *Acculturation in seven American Indian tribes* /cited in English/. New York 1940. p. 468; H. B. Hawthorn, "The Maori:

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A study in acculturation," American Anthropologist New Series. Vol. 46, No. 2. Part 2 (Memoir 64) 1944. p. 65.

is probably in part simply /331/ based on rational considerations according to which greater disadvantages than advantages were to be expected from the change, or it may be partly a question of
177 indolence or rigidity. On the whole, however, conservatism here
178 means a feeling of steadfastness in the traditional and habitual
181 because it is one's own to which one is rooted and to which one clings because one draws from it a goodly share of strength, inner security and self-assurance. Why do the Tongan women still subject themselves to the arduous and lengthy process of tapa-making and mat-plaiting? Why, with their relatively high income, do they not instead buy more durable European cloth which they can obtain without too much trouble? Why do they still plait their mats with great care and do not make them in a much simpler and less meticulous way? They probably do this not only because it happens to be their tradition and a taken-for-granted habit and gives them social recognition, but because they consciously or unconsciously feel that their very own way of life is bound up with these things, (62) and because they would perhaps be unsure of themselves and feel a certain void if they should break with this tradition and if the floor of their huts and their sleeping places were made only with European material with which they will probably never be able to establish a true inner relationship. Primitive peoples will guard and be able to maintain such an emotional attachment to what is old against the so powerful European influences only if their character

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62. Many Tongans do not fail to point out proudly to whites who are interested in their way of life and their work what is "faka Tonga" (Tongan way of doing things).

100: Koch-- 498 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

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Bay. Dom. Exped. Publ.	Bayard Dominick Expedition Publication
B. P. B. M.	Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History. Honolulu. Hawaii
Bull	Bulletin
Occ. Papers	Occasional Papers
Intern. Inst. of Afr. Lang. and Cult. Mem. XV	International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Memorandum XV: Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa. London 1938
Polynesian Soc., Jour.	The Journal of the Polynesian Society. New Plymouth, N. Z.
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and the end of February. *'Ava* in Ano is likewise protected 225
in May, June and July.

The use of fences for the purpose of catching fish or 226
turtles is licensed. [225]

12.—SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

A brief description has been given of the methods of 121
indigenous fisheries in Tonga. It will be clear that some of
the fishing methods as described are not strictly confined to 226
Tonga. For instance, octopus fishing with a sort of mouse- 171
shape "bait" is practised largely throughout the Pacific area. Other methods of community fishing or net fishing are also in use in other areas although sometimes with some alterations and under different names.

From the descriptions given, it becomes apparent that 000
Tonga is badly in need of:—

1. Improvement of existing fishing methods.
2. Introduction of new methods of fisheries.
3. Improvement of fish processing like salting, drying, etc.
4. Fisheries propaganda and import of diversified fishing tackle.
5. Fish marketing.

The realisation of this programme should eventually lead to improvement of the protein diet of the indigenous population.

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